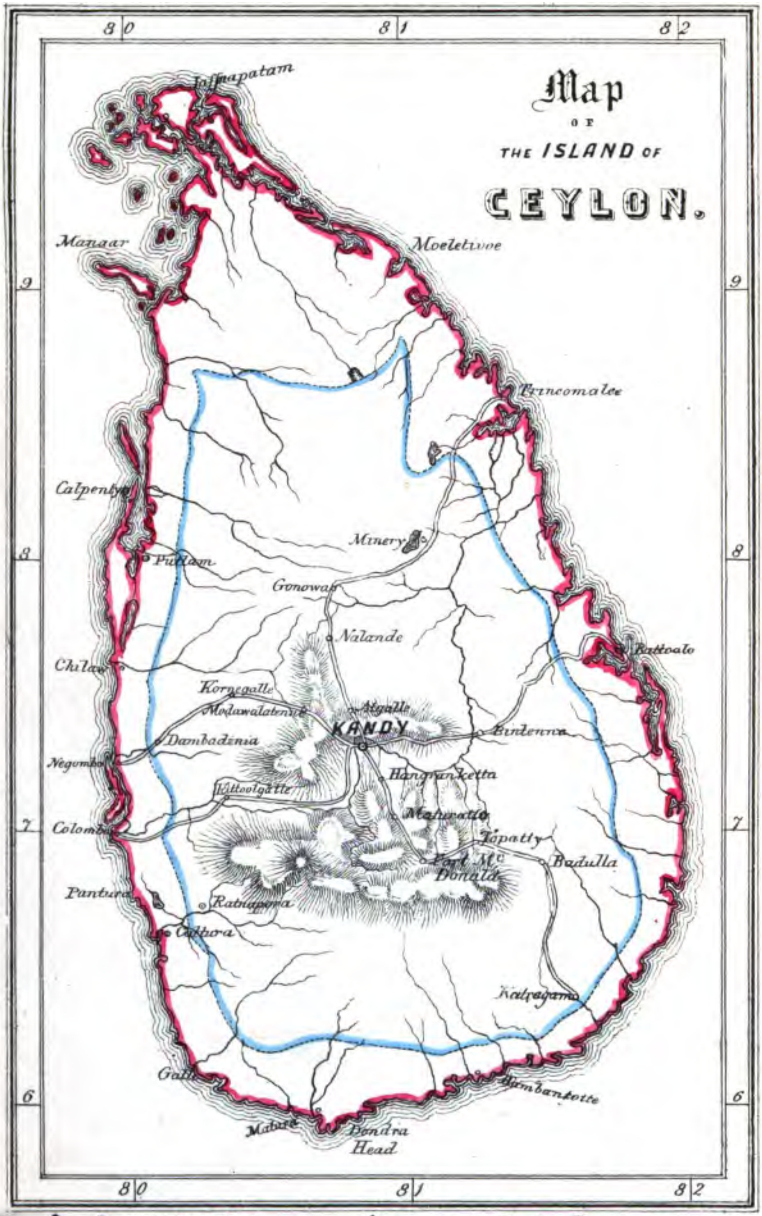
CEYLON.



EXPLANATION .... Boundary of the Maritime Provinces of Ceylon

CEYLON:

A GENERAL DESCRIPTION OF THE ISLAND AND ITS INHABITANTS;

WITH

AN HISTORICAL SKETCH

OF THE

CONQUEST OF THE COLONY BY THE ENGLISH.

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PREFACE.

In the compilation of the following pages, the writer has been much assisted by his friend, Simon Sawers, Esq., whose long residence in Ceylon, and extensive intercourse with the indigenous inhabitants, render any information communicated by him peculiarly valuable. Mr Sawers went to Ceylon as a "civil servant" in 1805; and in 1815, when the Kandyan conquest took place, was appointed to the highly responsible office of Commissioner of Revenue of the newly acquired provinces, with a seat at the Council Board of the Resident in Kandy. After the lapse of a few years, he succeeded to the appointment of Judicial Commissioner, which he continued to fill until 1827, when he returned to this country. The writer went to Ceylon in 1808, as Assistant-Surgeon in the 89th Regiment: he belonged to the first division of the army which was assembled for the invasion of the kingdom of Kandy in

December 1814; and, from 1816 till 1821, was the senior Medical Officer in the Kandyan provinces, being then Staff-Surgeon. With respect to the final conquest of the colony, the object of the Author has been chiefly to narrate facts and to record events, not to discuss the policy of the measure, or the merits of the means employed to that effect.

25, Alva Street,
Edinburgh, *October* 1846.

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CEYLON.

GENERAL DESCRIPTION OF THE ISLAND, AND AN ACCOUNT OF ITS INHABITANTS.

Situation, Extent, Physical Aspect. The ISLAND OF CEYLON lies between 5° 54′ and 9° 50′ N. lat., and 79° 50′ and 82° 10′ E. long. Its greatest length is variously stated at from 270 to 280 miles from north to south: its greatest breadth, from east to west, is about 140; the superficial area being, according to Dr Davy, 20,770 square miles; but, according to Simon Casie Chitty,* it is computed at 24,664 square miles. By measurement, the circuit of the island was found to be 763 miles, 4 furlongs, and 88 yards.

* Vide *The Ceylon Gazetteer.*—The Secretary of State for the Colonies awarded to Simon Casie Chitty, Esq., the sum of one hundred guineas as an acknowledgment of his literary exertions in the compilation of the Ceylon Gazetteer.

The rising and setting of the sun varies little more than nine or ten minutes throughout the year;—sunrise being a little before six in the morning, and sunset a few minutes after six in the evening. Except by change of wind, the difference of a few degrees of temperature, and the transitions from dry weather to rainy, and *vice versa,* a perennial summer prevails: a succession of seasons, such as winter and summer, with which the year is varied in the temperate zones, is completely unknown.

The kingdom of Kandy, which was annexed to the maritime territory in 1815, is situated in the centre of the island; the area of the conquered district is stated by Dr Davy to be 12,360 square miles; but, according to Simon Casie Chitty, the computed area is 14,144 square miles, and that of the maritime provinces 10,520. The newly acquired territory is consequently much more extensive than the latter. The territory of the kingdom of Kandy comprehended, as has been observed, the middle, or mountainous part of the island, together with a large portion of the flat country; the circumjacent, or maritime belt of territory, varying in width from 8 to 30 miles, and, at the northern extremity, amounting to nearly 80 miles, belonged successively to the governments of Portugal, Holland, and England. The upper, or hilly country, may be estimated at about one-seventh or one-eighth of the area of the whole island, or 3000 square miles: the elevation of the mountainous district above the level of the sea varies from 800 to 4000 or 5000 feet; the average height being about 2000. There are, however, several mountains in the Kandyan country from 7000 to 8000 feet high.

HEIGHTS OF SOME OF THE PRINCIPAL MOUNTAINS, &C. IN CEYLON.

L. by levelling; Δ by Geodesic operations.

	Feet.
Pedro Tallagalla,	8280 Δ
Kirrigal Potta,	7810 Δ
Tolapella,	7720 Δ
Adam's Peak,*	7420 Δ
Nammoonnakoollé,	6740 Δ
Plain of Nuwera Elia,	6210 Δ
Upper Lake in Kandy,	1678 L.

The prevailing rocks are granite and gneiss, quartz, dolomite, hornblende, and primitive greenstone. Dolomite is found only in the interior, and is used for making lime.

Climate.—The climate of Ceylon is considerably influenced by both the south-west and the north-east monsoons. The term, monsoon, is a corruption of the word *mooseem*, which, in the Malay language, signifies a year or season. The north-east monsoon prevails in Ceylon from November till February, and the south-west from April, or the beginning of May, till September. Heavy rains, strong wind, and much thunder and lightning, accompany the setting in of each monsoon. From 80 to 100 inches of rain fall annually; and, during the monsoon rains, the maritime districts are sometimes extensively inundated, and, consequently, part of the lowest levels is impassable. At Colombo, on the western coast, the mean temperature is about 80° or 81°; the mean daily variation being about 3°, and the annual range of the thermometer from 76° to 87°. The mean annual temperature at Kandy, which is nearly 1700 feet above the level of the sea, is about 73½°, and the annual range from 66° to 86°. At Trincomalee, the mean temperature

* *Vide* Appendix I.

is about 81½° ; the annual range being from 72° to 95°. The mean temperature at Trincomalee is, perhaps, as high as any other place in the world where an account of the temperature of the atmosphere has been kept.

Rivers.—The principal rivers are the *Maha Villa Ganga*, (supposed to be the Ganges of Ptolemy,) the *Kalani Ganga*, the *Kalu Ganga*, and the *Walawe Ganga*, all of which rise in the central mountainous mass. The *Maha Villa Ganga* arises, in part, from the base of Adam's Peak ; it then passes northward, and, after nearly encircling the town of Kandy, it descends to the level country, on the eastern side of the island, and falls into the sea not far from Trincomalee. The whole course of this river is nearly 200 miles ; but, except for conveying rafts of timber, it is not favourable for trade. The *Kalani Ganga* runs a western course for about 35 miles, when it reaches Ruanwelle, and thence to the sea in the neighbourhood of Colombo. It is navigable for boats of considerable burden for some distance above Ruanwelle. The *Kalu Ganga* takes a westerly direction, and enters the sea at Caltura. It is navigable as far as Ratnapoora. The *Walawe Ganga* has a south-east direction to the sea, near to Hambantotte.

Roads.—The roads in the inland and upper country were, during the native government, chiefly narrow paths, by which men on foot might pass singly, climbing over the rocks, and penetrating through the thickets in the best way they could. Bullocks, the common beast of burden, even with a light load, were with great difficulty able to get over the precipitous parts of some of the passes. There being little or no trade in the country, roads for wheel-carriages were not required; indeed, making roads was discouraged by government.

Soil, Agriculture, &c.—The natural soils seldom con-

tain more than three per cent. of vegetable matter. Quartzose gravel or sand, and feldspathic clay, mixed with a reddish loam resulting from the decomposition of clay-ironstone, commonly called *Cabook*, the *laterite* of mineralogists, generally compose the soil of Ceylon.

The line of coast from Negombo on the west, to Tengal on the south-east side of the island, is particularly favourable to the growth of the coco-nut tree. Cinnamon is chiefly confined to this district, on the coast and the hills of the interior. Coffee thrives well on the high lands of the upper country. As this plant is designated by the name of *kopi* by the Singalese, a word obviously synonymous with the Arabic term *coffee*, it may be inferred that it was introduced into Ceylon by the Arabs. The soil round Jaffnapatam and in the province of Uwa is favourable for the production of tobacco. In Jaffna, rice and tobacco are much cultivated. This is likewise a good sheep country. The Palmyra palm abounds in the northern part of the island.

The ancient inhabitants have left evident marks that they devoted much labour to the execution of works for the collection and distribution of water for flooding rice fields. Many of these reservoirs have gone out of repair, and the grounds which used to be watered from them are uncultivated. The only artificial lakes or tanks which are now in tolerable repair are Kandally and Minery, the former being about sixteen miles, and the latter fifty-six, from Trincomalee, on the road to Kandy. These surprising works argue a very numerous population, with a strong government, possessing the power of putting it into useful action.

The principal grains cultivated for the sustenance of the inhabitants are paddy, (rice in the husk,) and natcheny, (*cynosurus corrocanus.*) The raising of paddy

requires low or at least flat grounds, and an abundant supply of water, consequently, this crop is liable to frequent failure in dry seasons. There are several varieties of rice, some of which grow on high grounds without being flooded, but the produce is comparatively scanty.

In the cultivation of rice, the labourers are greatly exposed to the heat of a tropical sun, the culture of this grain requiring a labourer to wade much in mud and water. Rice fields have an embankment round them, and after the grain is sown or put into the ground, the fields are covered with water several inches deep, the depth being increased as the grain shoots up, until a short time before the crop is fit for cutting.

The plough and a large hoe (*Mammootie* *) are the principal agricultural instruments used. The plough is drawn by buffaloes, which are yoked by a simple wooden collar. The buffalo is guided by a cord attached to the nose. The grain is cut with a sickle resembling our reaping hook, the edge being notched like a saw. A floor is made in a corner of a field, upon which the grain is spread, and the rice is trodden out by means of buffaloes. The grain, or paddy, is stored in mud-walled barns, which are raised on stone pedestals, like our corn-stacks. The inhabitants use a stone hand-mill, which is exactly the same size and form as the *querne* formerly used in Scotland. Much care is taken to frighten off the elephants, who are very partial to the young grain; and, for this purpose, a platform is constructed on a tree in the corner of each field, and when an elephant approaches, the watchman fires a musket, or throws burning brands at him.

To enable the cultivators to take advantage of the

* Earth-cutter.

water which descends from the tops of hills, they cut the sides of the hills into terraces, which are sometimes not more than a yard wide. The water is then conducted in spouts of hollow coco-nut tree into the first line of terraces, from which it passes through openings in the bank to the one beneath, and so on until it reaches the valley, where it forms a small rivulet.

Rice is imported in great quantities from the peninsula of India, the amount of paddy raised in the island not being adequate for the sustenance of the inhabitants.

Vegetable Productions.—Ceylon contains the common vegetable productions of tropical climates, and some which are more or less peculiar. Calamander, satin, ebony, sapan, iron, jack, halmalille, and other beautiful woods for cabinet work, are to be found in abundance. The coco-nut tree is perhaps the most important to the inhabitants, as it contributes largely to their sustenance at all times, but more especially in dry seasons when the grain crops fail. Its products form also important articles of export. In 1813, it was estimated that between Dondra-head and Calpentyn there were ten million of coco-nut trees. The importance of this tree to the inhabitants may be guessed by the revenue returned by it, amounting, in 1832, to L.35,775.

The Palmyra palm abounds in the neighbourhood of Jaffna. It yields toddy from which arrack is distilled, and the wood is valuable for roofing.

The Ceylon areca-nut is celebrated for its superior qualities, and is exported in great quantities.

Coffee was formerly propagated chiefly by means of birds and jackals, who eat the fruit; but since about 1820, and more particularly since 1836, it has been extensively cultivated, especially in the Kandyan provinces, and the quality is now considered very good. Formerly,

when it was in a great measure deemed common property, the produce did not possess a high character, being too often pulled before the fruit was sufficiently ripe. The preparation or drying of the berry is also much improved. Before the cultivation of the plant had engaged the attention, energy, and capital of Europeans, the native collectors of coffee were accused of injuring the fruit by dipping it into boiling water before it was perfectly dry, probably for the purpose of causing the kernels to swell to a larger size.

The waste lands belonging to the crown in the island are interspersed with villages, fields, and other property belonging to the native population. The localities suited for coffee cultivation, to which a great part of the waste lands sold have been applied, are, therefore, much scattered. Vegetation is so rapid, that the boundaries cut through the forest for the survey, previous to sale, speedily disappear, and many proprietors, even of cultivated estates, cannot discover their own limits. A great proportion of the natives hold their lands either without any title at all, or with one to which no survey is attached. Provision for more easily ascertaining the boundaries of estates has lately been made by the Governor of Ceylon. According to instructions received from home, the governor is not to offer land for sale at less than one pound per acre.

Ceylon has been long supposed to produce the finest cinnamon in the world. Crows and wood-pigeons devour the berries with great avidity, by which means the plant is widely disseminated, even where no means are taken to cultivate it. The kings of Kandy possessed a monopoly of the cinnamon and other valuable productions of their territories, and the Portuguese and Dutch were not less rigorous in engrossing the cinnamon which grew in the

maritime provinces. The Dutch enforced the thraldom of the Chaliahs, or cinnamon peelers, with extreme strictness.* Severe penalties were inflicted upon any one who cut cinnamon shoots, and those persons who unlawfully peeled the shoots, or extracted oil from the bark or the leaves, or camphor from the roots, were liable to the punishment of death, or banishment to the Cape of Good Hope for a term of twenty-five years. The Dutch laws continued in force under the English until 1832.

For a long time the principal part of the cinnamon crop

* On more than one occasion the Chaliahs evinced an ardent desire to emancipate themselves from the severe exactions of their despotic rulers. In 1723 they refused to comply with the orders of Government to proceed to the woods to prepare cinnamon as usual, assigning the degraded state of the caste, and the number of civil disabilities they laboured under, as an adequate reason for their non-compliance. They complained that the task they were ordered to perform was beyond their power to execute, in consequence of the scarcity of cinnamon trees, and that the quantity of the bark they were called upon annually to prepare would require the incessant labour of from twelve to thirteen months, by which means they were obliged to live in the woods "like wild beasts, without being able to visit their families, or to contribute to the support of their wives and children." In consequence of the oppression to which they were exposed, the Chaliahs, at this time, requested permission to leave the maritime provinces, and to put themselves under the protection of the king of Kandy, or to emigrate from the island. In 1735, a large body of the Chaliahs left the maritime provinces, and established themselves in the Kandyan country, in two villages of the Seven Corles. A commissioner was appointed by the Dutch to hear their complaints, but they refused to give him an audience. Their reply to communications from the colonial government was couched in very strong language; they stated that they would not return to the maritime provinces, and submit to the slavery to which they had been exposed, "even though the governor should destroy their property, burn their wives and children, and present them with the ashes." The number of Chaliahs who emigrated to the Kandyan country was estimated at upwards of 1000. This is a striking proof that the tyranny of a people calling themselves Christians, may be infinitely more oppressive than that of an oriental despot, who is a stranger to the refinement of civilization.

was collected in the forests and jungles in the territory of the king of Kandy, who was not always sufficiently well-disposed towards the Dutch to permit their cinnamon peelers free admission into his dominions. To render themselves in some measure independent of the will of the court of Kandy, the Dutch commenced about the year 1765 the cultivation of cinnamon in the maritime provinces, and, by the year 1794, they were able to obtain the requisite quantity of this spice, without soliciting permission from the king to collect any in his territory. In February 1796, the maritime provinces of Ceylon fell into the hands of the English, and in October 1798, the Honourable Mr North assumed the government of the territory formerly occupied by the Dutch. As early as 1799, the Ceylon Government began to entertain fears that the market would be overstocked with cinnamon, and that the price of the article would fall; and, by the year 1802, Mr North had adopted measures to restrict the cultivation of cinnamon to the four principal plantations, namely, Marandahn, Kaderane, Morotto, and Ekele. At this time he directed all the cinnamon gardens belonging to government, except the four already named, to be sold by public auction, the purchasers to bind themselves to root out all the cinnamon trees and destroy them. Fortunately the uprooting of cinnamon bushes is a work of considerable labour, and the purchasers of a number of the plantations failed to fulfil their contract in that respect. As might have been anticipated, the requisite quantity of cinnamon was henceforth obtained with great difficulty, and the annual investments were greatly reduced. In July 1805, General Maitland assumed the government of the maritime provinces, and one of the first acts of his administration was to arrest the progress of the despoliation of the cinna-

mon plantations. The cultivation of cinnamon, more especially in the government gardens, was again actively resumed.

The duty of collecting the cinnamon, and of peeling and preparing it, was, as has been already stated, performed in a compulsory manner by a class of people (Chaliahs) who were annually assembled from the districts in which they resided, and, as they were taken for several months from their homes, from other profitable employments, and subject to much exposure in the forests, upon a very limited allowance, the servitude to which they were liable was considered very oppressive. This hateful system prevailed in Ceylon from time immemorial. Like the villains attached to the soil in feudal times, the Chaliahs were transferred with unmitigated thraldom to every succeeding conqueror. Peelers who failed to produce monthly above 30 lbs. of cinnamon, were liable to be flogged by the order of the superintendent, and the practice obtained in the cinnamon department, as the writer has witnessed, to flog for such an alleged delinquency. The Dutch punished peelers by whipping, branding, cutting off the ears, and confinement in chains.

The system of degrading and oppressing a portion of the population, and their progeny, by commanding their services at a rate below the ordinary price of labour, was abolished by an order of the King in Council, which was published in the Ceylon Gazette, of the 29th September 1832. In the month of July 1833, the monopoly of the trade of cinnamon was relinquished by government, the plantations being all advertised to be sold to the highest bidder. For a few years government charged three shillings per pound of cinnamon as export duty, which is now reduced to one shilling per pound.

Animals.—With the exception of the royal Tiger and

the Antelope, which are not found in Ceylon, the animals are nearly the same as those of the peninsula of India. Nowhere perhaps in the world are elephants more abundant than in the island. In a state of nature they live in herds, and commit great ravages when they enter a rice field, by treading down the grain, and hence the rice fields in the interior of the island require to be watched during night. They destroy coco-nut and other trees, by pushing them over with their trunks, and feeding upon the branches. They are particularly fond of the leaves of the jaggery-palm. Elephants have an astonishing sagacity for discovering deposits of grain, and to reach them they will destroy a cottage in a few minutes, by crushing the mud-built walls into dust. From some cause or causes, which have not been ascertained, male elephants occasionally wander about alone, when they are, in Ceylon, called "Rogue elephants," probably in consequence of their being commonly very vicious, and liable to injure persons who may come in their way. Only a small proportion of the Ceylon elephants have tusks. Gomrah, the largest elephant in the possession of government, was measured by the writer, and found to be eight feet seven inches at the shoulder.

Formerly a great number of elephants were caught in the island, and exported to India to grace the native courts, but this trade has become extinct. In more modern times they have been driven into Kraals and destroyed, being considered destructive vermin. A great many are now annually shot by gentlemen who have a taste for elephant shooting. The late Major Rogers, Ceylon Regiment, is supposed to have killed about 800 during the twenty years he was in the island. Among the

coroners' inquests held in Ceylon in 1834, there were thirteen on persons killed by elephants.

Among the birds in Ceylon, there are few more remarkable than the Virginian Horned Owl, (*Bubo Virginianus.*) Wilson, who has described this bird in his American Ornithology, tells us that "as soon as evening draws on, and mankind retire to rest, he sends forth such sounds as seem scarcely to belong to this world, startling the solitary pilgrim as he slumbers by his forest fire,

'Making night hideous.'"

"This ghastly watchman," says Wilson, "has frequently warned me of the approach of morning, and amused me with his singular exclamations, sometimes sweeping down and around my fire, uttering a loud and sudden *Waugh O! Waugh O!* sufficient to have alarmed a whole garrison. He has other nocturnal *solos* no less melodious, one of which very strikingly resembles the half-suppressed scream of a person suffocating or throttled." The writer first heard the wailing or groaning exclamation of this bird while he was accompanying a body of troops proceeding through a densely wooded country about midnight, for the purpose of surprising and capturing a Kandyan chieftain. The Kandyans consider the cry of this owl as a presage of death or misfortune, unless they adopt a charm to avert its fatal summons. They call this bird *Bagahmoona*, devil-face, or devil-bird, and by many the cry is presumed to come directly from the devil.

The veracious Knox is obviously of this opinion, for he says, "This for certain I can affirm, that oftentimes the devil doth cry with audible voice in the night; 'tis very shrill, almost like the barking of a dog: this I have often heard myself, but never heard that it did anybody

any harm. Only this observation the inhabitants of the land have made of their voice, and I have made it also, that either just before, or very suddenly after this voice, always the king cuts off people. To believe that this is the voice of the devil these reasons urge—because there is no creature known to the inhabitants that cries like it, and because it will on a sudden depart from one place and make a noise in another, quicker than any fowl could fly, and because the very dogs will tremble and shake when they hear it, and it is so accounted by all the people."

With respect to the snakes of Ceylon, we are informed by Dr Davy, that of twenty different species which are in the island, sixteen are harmless. Twenty coroners' inquests were in 1834 held upon deaths caused by the bites of snakes. Many of the houses in Ceylon are thatched with coco-nut tree leaves, which give shelter to rats, lizards, &c., and as these animals are devoured by snakes, more especially by one species, the rat snake, the thatch is often infested with this class of reptiles. Occasionally they are heard making a noise among the leaves in quest of their prey. Sometimes a snake, several feet long, falls from the roof, or creeps through a window, and disconcerts the inmates of a chamber. But snakes of various kinds occasionally enter dwelling-houses at all times, more especially, however, when their holes have been filled by heavy rain after a long tract of dry weather.

There is a terrestrial leech in Ceylon which prevails to a great extent on the hills, and such parts of the interior as are exempt from a long continuance of dry weather. This species is chiefly found in shady damp places, crawling upon the moist leaves and branches of trees, and upon stones in the beds of rivulets. In dry

weather it is comparatively little seen, but in rainy weather infests the pathways and roads to an almost incredible extent. This very troublesome animal is in length about three-fourths of an inch, and it moves as if measuring like a compass, the head and body being pushed forward, and then bringing up the tail. It is supposed to possess an acute sense of smell; for no sooner does a person stop where leeches abound, than they crowd with great eagerness to the spot, from all quarters, and fasten upon him with the utmost avidity. Persons passing through jungles, in moist weather, find much difficulty in preventing themselves from being bitten, as they penetrate through stockings with great ease, and get in contact with the skin of the neck from the branches of trees. During the night, they sometimes attack the face and gums of persons asleep. I have known eighty taken from one person at a time; and in some cases the blood trickles down under the clothes, so as even to appear coming over the edges of the shoes in walking. The pain occasioned by the bite is seldom acute; indeed, it commonly escapes notice, and the bloody clothes are the first indication of having been bitten. Much itching, which lasts for several days, follows the bites of leeches. In sound constitutions, the wounds soon heal, provided ordinary care is taken of them; but with soldiers in the field, who cannot pay the requisite attention to them, they often fester, and degenerate into extensive sores and ulcers, so as to lead to loss of limb, and even to loss of life. During the revolt of the Kandyans, many of the Company's troops, together with the pioneers and coollies employed in the field, thus lost their lives. Some of the Europeans suffered severely from large, ill-conditioned ulcers arising from the same cause. These

animals bite cattle; and it is observed, where leeches abound, that sheep do not thrive.

The woody character of the country may be estimated, when it is stated, that even in Kandy the bellowing of elks, and the howling and yelping of troops of jackals, are heard almost every night. "Imagine," says Eothen, "some dozen children, of tender age, mourning and sobbing to allay their pain, then bursting forth into a chorus with bitter and heart-rending lamentation. Such is the cry of the jackal." Their cry is certainly very sad and melancholy. Within about a mile of the Fort of Point de Galle, several children were, not long ago, carried away by leopards.

Inhabitants.—The population of Ceylon may be divided into five classes.

1*st*, The *Singalese*,* who are generally Boodhists. This class occupies the south and south-west coasts of the island, from the Magampatto on the east to Chilaw, on the west coast, together with all the Kandyan country. Colloquially, the inhabitants of the above territory are subdivided into two varieties, namely, *Singalese* and *Kandyans*, terms which are similar in import to Lowlanders and Highlanders. There is no specific distinction between them; they have the same origin, speak the same language, follow the same religion, and have the same habits of life. Both Lowlanders and Highlanders observe the civil distinctions of caste, the number of castes or professions being, according to Casie Chitty, twenty-four. The Singalese, like the inhabitants of the peninsula of India, have European features, the colour of their skin varying from brown to black.

* *Singe-hallee*, people of lion's blood.

2d, The *Hindoos*, commonly denominated *Malabars* or *Tamuls*. This class occupies the eastern and northern parts of the island. They are obviously derived from the same stock as those who inhabit the opposite coast of the peninsula of India, having originally come to Ceylon as invaders. They are followers of Brahma.

3d, The *Moors*. This class is supposed to be the descendants of an enterprising colony of Arabs. They are chiefly merchants, and follow the Mahommedan religion. They are dispersed over all the island, and may be looked upon as the most industrious and laborious class of the population.

4th, The *Vedahs* or *Bedas*. This class lives in an unsocial savage state in extensive forests along the banks of the Maha Villa Ganga, in the neighbourhood of Bintenna. The Vedahs may be divided into Village Vedahs and Forest Vedahs. The former, though beneath the general population in social and moral qualities, rank high in the scale of civilization when compared with the Forest Vedahs, who seldom associate with their brethren of the villages. The Forest Vedahs appear to live in pairs, like some of the wild beasts of the woods, and, so far as is known, rarely associate much together. Their dress consists of a small piece of cloth, depending in front from a string tied round the loins. The weapons they use are clubs, and bows and arrows, the blades of which are from four to twelve inches long. It is with these long-bladed arrows and very coarse bows that Vedahs kill elephants, deer, elks, &c.

The ancestors of the present Vedahs appear to have been the aborigines of the island, who preferred the wild life of the hunter to the tamer one of the agriculturist, and never mixed with the immigrants from the different provinces of India. Finding in the woods all that was

necessary for subsistence, they have hitherto continued to roam the forests for prey, uncontrolled by foreigners, and undisturbed by innovation. The religion of the Vedahs is said to be a rude superstition, consisting chiefly of propitiatory rites offered to evil demons, and of the worship of serpents. This people seem never to have been converted to Boodhism; but it must be confessed, that little, if anything, certain is known respecting the moral habits and religion of this wild people.

5th, Burghers. This class comprehends the descendants of Europeans of unmixed blood, and that race which has sprung from the intercourse of Europeans with the natives.

Many thousands of Africans (Caffries) have been introduced into the island, both as slaves and as soldiers, by the successive European powers who have had possession of the maritime territory; but they never kept up their numbers, and have nearly disappeared.

The occupations of the people are chiefly agricultural.

Moral Character of the Highlanders and Lowlanders:—" In carriage and behaviour, the Kandyans are very grave and stately, like unto the Portugals; in understanding, quick and apprehensive; in design, subtile and crafty; in discourse, courteous but full of flatteries; naturally inclined to temperance, both in meat and drink, but not to chastity; near and provident in their families, commending good husbandry; in their dispositions not passionate, neither hard to be reconciled again when angry; in their promises very unfaithful; approving lying in themselves, but misliking it in others; delighting in sloth; deferring labour till urgent necessity constrains them; neat in apparel; nice in eating; and not much given to sleep."

The Lowlanders, or, as they are usually denominated,

the Singalese, "are kind, pitiful, helpful, honest, and plain; compassionating strangers, which we found by our own experience among them. They of the uplands (Kandyans) are ill-natured, false, unkind, though outwardly fair, and seemingly courteous, and of more complaisant carriage, speech, and better behaviour, than the Lowlanders."—(*Historical Relation of the Island of Ceylon, by Robert Knox.*)

Knox is, in general, so well informed, so accurate, and so truthful, in regard to the Kandyan country and its inhabitants, that it is very seldom safe to differ from his conclusions. Oriental nations are very slow in changing their habits, or modes of thinking and acting; and perhaps Knox's character of the inhabitants of Ceylon is as true now as it was when he published his work in 1681.

In physical force and mental energy, the Kandyans, or Singalese of the interior provinces, are greatly superior to the Singalese of the maritime provinces. After the conquest of Ceylon by the English, an attempt was made to raise a body of Singalese, for the purpose of incorporating them into an armed military corps, but the attempt, it is said, did not succeed. The corps, which Cordiner designates as His Majesty's Ceylon Native Infantry,—which subsequently became the 2d Ceylon Regiment,—was finally recruited entirely by natives of the peninsula of India. The Kandyan people are hardy, brave, and, like most mountaineers, passionately attached to their native hills; and, on many occasions, they have evinced an ardent love of liberty, or, at least, a detestation of foreign conquest. No attempt has been made to raise a body of Kandyans to be incorporated as a military corps.

The physical and moral qualities which distinguish

the Highland from the Lowland Singalese, it is presumed, did not exist in any remarkable degree while the island was under one government, or till after the maritime provinces had been conquered and held by a European power.

In many respects, the Kandyan government and usages resembled the feudal system of Europe. In both countries, the king was surrounded by a body of warlike chieftains, who paid him little more than nominal submission, and claimed the right of ruling their own provinces with nearly arbitrary sway. These chiefs held their lands as fiefs of the crown, and by a kind of military tenure. In Ceylon, all men below the rank of mohotal, or gentleman, were obliged to work for thirty days in each year for the king's service, without pay or provender. Kandyan nobles, like the chiefs of Scotland, were colloquially named after their properties; hence, Eheylapola, Kappitapola, Madugalla, were named after estates or villages.

The Kandyans, although deficient in the principal elements of a high degree of civilization, such as wealth, truth, and moral principle, are not rude in their manners; and, when roused by real or imaginary wrongs, they display a brave and persevering spirit, particularly in resisting and repulsing invaders. From the time that the Portuguese obtained a secure footing on the coast of the island, the Kandyan government had to keep up a constant struggle against the open and covert attacks of an enterprising, ambitious, powerful, and intriguing enemy, and against the plots and treasons of disaffected chiefs, whose treachery was uniformly promoted by the government of the maritime provinces. This circumstance will, in some measure, account for the fact, that the European local government was always

considered hostile, and that professions of amity from that quarter were regarded, generally, with much suspicion, sometimes with indifference or contempt. It will also, in part, account for some of the recorded deaths by violence amongst the kings, and for the extreme severity usually exercised in punishing traitors or suspected traitors. The Singalese are not naturally a cruel race. Although the punishments of the Kandyans were often disproportionately severe, they were also frequently of a very trifling character. None of their punishments seem to have been of that lingering kind which used to be practised in our own country, such as the "rack," or the "scavenger's daughter;" nor were the disembowelling atrocities enacted in the cases of persons sentenced to die for high treason. The general feeling of the people seems to be unfavourable to acts of cruelty. When executions took place in the vicinity of Kandy, whether of indigenous or Malay delinquents, scarcely an inhabitant repaired to the spot to witness the scene, while, perhaps, not a European wife of a soldier in the garrison was absent.

We are informed by Dr Davy, that during the tragical scene when Eheylapola's children and wife were executed, the crowd who had assembled to witness it wept aloud, unable to suppress their grief and horror. During two days, he adds, the whole of Kandy, with the exception of the tyrant's court, was as one house of mourning and lamentation; and so deep was the grief, that not a fire, it is said, was kindled, no food was dressed, and a general fast was held. How creditable is this remarkable statement to the feelings and the humanity of the Kandyan population! Contrast their conduct, on this occasion, with the behaviour of a crowd in this country at the execution of persons condemned for high treason;

for example, the execution of nine gentlemen, for treason, on Kennington Common, on the 30th July 1746. When, after they had been suspended three minutes, the soldiers went under the bodies, drew off their shoes, white stockings, and breeches, while the executioner pulled off the rest of their clothes. A London mob, who had hooted these ill-fated gentlemen to and from their trials, permitted these atrocities to be committed without disapprobation.

The Kandyan officials, but particularly the Dissaves, who possessed kingly power in their own district, assumed a state and dignity nearly allied to royalty. On important occasions, they were usually preceded by a number of men, cracking large whips, and by a number of *tom-toms*, (small drums,) accompanied by several parasol-bearers, with other attendants. A boy or page almost invariably attended a chief.

Nothing in Kandy surprised the English so much as the unconstrained manner and manly bearing of the Kandyan chieftains. In the ball-room, or at a review, and with the display so new to them, they were never taken by surprise. Eheylapola and Kappitapola were particularly distinguished for decorum and propriety of behaviour. The latter chieftain used to be called by the English the Kandyan Chesterfield.

The dress of the chieftains, which seems not to have been changed for many centuries, is picturesque. They wear a white cap, resembling a turban; their beards full and bushy; their hair long, and tied up in a round ball, (*condé*); a muslin or embroidered silk jacket, open in front, the sleeves fastened at the wrists with small gold buttons, tight to above the elbows, but puffed out to a great size at the shoulders; a printed calico or muslin cloth round the loins, falling below the knee,

like very wide trousers. In persons of high rank, this part of the dress is very profuse, giving the nobility a pot-bellied appearance. In the folds of this cloth they usually carry a large knife or dagger, a betel-box, and a writing stylus. When walking, an attendant holds an ornamented talipot over them, which serves as a parasol or umbrella. Two or three men sometimes march in front, carrying large sticks, and a boy commonly follows, bearing a sword. Men of distinction usually carry a long painted walking-cane.

In the house, the dress commonly worn is very simple, being merely a single cloth wrapped round the loins; the upper part of the body being quite naked. The writer, when he used to call upon Eheylapola, the greatest chieftain in the country, at his residence, found him in this guise.

Females of the higher ranks have a similar lofty bearing, and dignity of manners, with the nobility or chieftains. The dress of the women of distinction is of fine cloth, with plain or coloured edges; it fits close to their bodies, and descends to their toes, with folds round their waist; they wear no veils or covering on their heads, a handkerchief is thrown loosely over the left shoulder, their hair is long, and divided in the middle of the forehead, and tied up behind in a knot or *condé*. When abroad, they wear ear-rings, chains, and bracelets, generally of silver, but ladies of the higher ranks wear gold ornaments. They are cleanly in their habits, and careful of their persons, and keep their hair well oiled.

The legs and feet of both men and women are bare; children of both sexes go without any clothing till they are five or six years of age. Itch is a very frequent cutaneous affection among all ranks of the people, and they do not seem to be either ashamed of this affection,

or much annoyed by it. The female domestics are much employed in capturing the inhabitants of the head, and seem to take much pleasure in this kind of "chase."

The men always eat alone, and the mother and children in a separate apartment. They sit on a mat on the floor, and eat with their fingers off plantain leaves; the people of distinction have saucers to hold their numerous curries. All ranks avoid touching the vessel with their lips while drinking. For pouring liquid into their mouths, they have an earthen vessel resembling our teapot.

The upper ranks of the Kandyans can generally read and write their own language. They write on slips of the leaf of the Palmyra, and of the talipot tree, by means of an iron stylus which they wear in their waist-cloth. They write from left to right, and in a very expeditious or off-handed manner. Besides works on the life and doctrines of Boodhoo, the Singalese have many books both in verse and prose on moral subjects, grammar, medicine, astronomy, and various branches of literature common to other Eastern nations, including a very complete history of the kings of Ceylon.

Literature seems to have a considerable value among some of the natives of the island. Oppressed as the Chaliahs or cinnamon peelers were, many of them entertained a desire for information, and endeavoured to give their children some degree of education. In 1814, there were 2000 peelers employed by the Ceylon local government, and of this number, the superintendent of cinnamon plantations, the late much respected James Maitland, Esq., ascertained that 420 could read and write the Singalese language. In a work lately published on Ceylon, it is asserted, that "it is rare indeed to see a

* *Tall pottie*, literally Book-leaf.

Ceylonese, even of the poorest class, who cannot read and write his own language. Can the most civilized nations of Europe make the same boast?"—(Knighton's *History of Ceylon*, p. 178.) Mr Knighton has, it may be feared, given a rather too favourable account of the literature of the population.

Dwellings.—The huts or dwellings are commonly situated in rather sheltered situations. They are usually constructed of mud, composed of a ferruginous earth; and, in the maritime provinces, they are thatched with coco-nut leaves, in the Kandyan country with paddy straw. They are surrounded by a clump of trees, most commonly the jack-tree, (*Artocarpus integrifolia,*) coco-nut tree, and the plantain-tree, (*Musa Paradisiaca,* Lin.) The dwellings are built separate from one another: each hut being, in a certain degree, independent. The houses of the chiefs are raised on a low terrace, built in the form of a hollow square, presenting externally a dead wall, and internally bordering the open area or verandah, with which the side rooms communicate by narrow doors. The houses of the chiefs are tiled. Most of the rooms even in the houses of the chiefs are badly lighted, having small openings, or windows, hardly large enough to admit the human head. The floors are of clay, and are occasionally covered with a dilute mixture of fresh cow-dung with water, which serves the purpose of keeping off insects. A sheathing of this substance is well adapted to cover smoked walls, preparatory to being white-washed. The Singalese, or Kandyans, do not, says Knox, "care to make streets by building their houses together in rows, but each man lives by himself in his own plantation, having a hedge, it may be, and a ditch round about him to keep out cattle." The

villages are sometimes surrounded by a deep ditch, as a protection against elephants.

The houses generally contain nothing but rattan couches for sitting upon, together with a few chests for holding their dress and ornaments; the apartment a chief occupies is generally hung round with white cotton cloth. Except the chiefs, both men and women sleep on mats on the floor.

Population.—In 1833, the total population amounted to 1,126,808, being about forty-five inhabitants per square mile. Perhaps about two-thirds of the population are Singalese.

Arts and Manufactures.—The Singalese work in gold and silver, and their jewellery is much admired: they are said to excel rather in the setting than in the cutting of precious stones. They engrave the Singalese character on copper plates. They smelt iron; and the Ceylon blacksmiths are supposed to be on a par, in as far as the exercise of their art is concerned, with the common country blacksmiths in Europe. Weaving is practised, but it has made very little progress, the loom being of a very rude construction. In the practice of agriculture they evince much ingenuity.

The principal manufactures in Ceylon are salt, oil, arrack, and coir cordage. In 1833 the salt farms yielded a revenue of L.29,044, and in 1841 coco-nut oil was exported from Colombo to the amount of L.26,988.

Commerce, (internal.)—The exports from the Kandyan country to the maritime provinces consist principally of grain (paddy,) coffee, jaggery (coarse sugar,) and areca-nuts. The returns being chiefly salt, salt fish, and piece goods.

Commerce, (external.)—The first accounts of Ceylon

were brought to Europe by the Macedonians who were with Alexander in India. During the early commerce of Ceylon, ships appear to have sailed from that island with produce to the ports of Arabia Felix, by the coast of Scinde, and the mouth of the Persian Gulf, where they were met by ships from the Red Sea, by which means Egypt for a long time enjoyed a monopoly of the Indian trade with respect to Europe. After Hippalus had successfully attempted to sail direct from the Arabian Gulf to the Malabar coast, this became the usual course, the more circuitous route being eventually abandoned. From this period the Romans commenced to trade extensively with India and Ceylon, and this continued until the decay of their empire. In the eleventh century, the traffic was entirely in the hands of Mohammedan Arabs, who circulated the productions of India and Ceylon through the Red Sea and Persian Gulf, in various countries of Asia, Europe, and Africa. The commerce of Ceylon was not materially altered until the discovery of the passage round the Cape, (1497,) when the Portuguese engrossed the trade of its principal productions, and the maritime relations that had previously existed were, in a great measure, abolished.

The Portuguese were particularly anxious to obtain rich exports of the productions of Ceylon, as it was on the sale of these in Europe, that the profits both of the government and of its servants depended. Of the various articles which Ceylon produces, cinnamon has particularly attracted the attention of the European Governments that have successively taken possession of that island. Indeed, it was long considered as almost the only source of their revenue.

The Portuguese having constructed a fort at Colombo, soon after concluded a treaty with the king of the island,

by which he stipulated to furnish his allies with 250,000 lbs. of cinnamon annually, they being bound to assist him, and his successors, against his enemies both by sea and land.

The Dutch devoted much attention to cinnamon as an article of commerce. For some time before the Kandyan war, which commenced in 1763, the Dutch exported annually from 8000 to 10,000 bales, each weighing 86 lbs. Dutch, or 92½ lbs. English. Subsequently to the conclusion of the war in question, the amount of cinnamon exported fell off to 6000 or 7000 bales annually, and the declension of the export of this article was progressive, as will appear by the following statement of an account of the cinnamon imported into Holland, and sold at the Dutch East India Company's auctions from the year 1785 to 1791 inclusive:—

Years.	lbs.	Amount.
1785.	309,040	L.199,470
1786.	453,920	280,605
1787.	144,000	82,470
1788.	485,600	273,765
1789.	463,400	252,785
1790.	375,920	205,045
1791.	183,765	100,235

The average annual quantity imported being 345,092 lbs., and the average amount of sales L.199,195, = 11s. 6d. per lb.

Towards the end of the last century, a cinnamon bark, under the name of cassia, was introduced from China into the European market, in such quantities as to diminish the demand for Ceylon cinnamon, for which it is a substitute. In 1797, the year after the capture of Ceylon, the East India Company exported 1,340,675 lbs. of cinnamon to England.

When the island was transferred from the East India Company to the immediate administration of the king's government, on the 1st of January 1802, it was deemed expedient to grant the East India Company the exclusive privilege of exporting cinnamon from the colony. It was consequently agreed, that the Ceylon Government should deliver annually to the Company 400,000 lbs. of cinnamon, making 4324½ bales, each consisting of 92½ lbs., for which the Company granted to government a credit of L.60,000, being at the rate of 3s. per lb.

The following are the actual investments made from 1802 to 1812, inclusive:—

Investment of	Bales.	Investment of	Bales.
1802	3679	1808	4012
1803	2680	1809	3910
1804	2678	1810	4425
1805	2469	1811	4000
1806	4166	1812	4600
1807	4850		

The revenue of the island for 1831 amounted to L.381,142, and the following were among the taxes composing it:—Salt, L.27,891; Land-rents, L.25,807; Fish-rents, L.7773; Cinnamon, L.106,432. The market price of the finest quality of cinnamon in 1843 was, in Ceylon, about 3s. 6d. per lb. Formerly, the Dutch were accustomed to pay the Kandyans about 6d. per lb. for cinnamon, which they sold in Europe at from 11s. to 11s. 6d.

The value of exports, in 1843, was estimated at L.400,038; of imports, L.720,145. The values of some of the principal articles of export were as follow, fractions excepted:—

Areca-nuts,		L.27,027
Cinnamon,		66,269
Coco-nut Products:—		
Coco-nuts,	L.7,279	
Kernels,	5,794	
Shells,	398	
Coir,	9,118	
Oil,	43,873	
		66,442
Coffee,		192,890
Tobacco,		12,158
		L.365,146

Thus it appears that 91 per cent. of the value of the articles exported in 1843 was derived from five plants. The value of the coffee exported in 1813 was only 1743 rix-dollars, being equal to about L.130. The rapid increase of the production of coffee in the island will appear by the following table of exports for a period of eleven years, ending 1841:—

Years.	Cwts.	Valued at
1831.	17,287	L.14,287
1832.	33,719	50,348
1833.	18,901	23,595
1834.	21,314	31,748
1835.	22,071	45,970
1836.	56,835	140,595
1837.	39,666	106,064
1838.	49,263	115,863
1839.	40,668	126,886
1840.	62,074	197,388
1841.	77,475	200,964

In 1831, the exports subject to duty had, on an average, to pay about 35 per cent. One product, namely, areca-nuts, was charged as high as 75 per cent. Of the imports, more than three-fourths consisted of grain and cotton cloths, and the duties levied upon them amounted to about 14½ per cent.

Military Defence.—In regard to the military defence of the kingdom of Kandy, or, as it is frequently called, the Kandyan country, it is important to state, that the chiefs held their lands by tenure of service, and that they were obliged, when called upon, to join the king at the head of their vassals or followers; each follower or soldier being provided with a musket and fifteen days' provisions, together with a small earthen vessel (a chatty) for the purpose of dressing rice, &c. On the eastern side of the island, the followers were frequently armed with bows and arrows. A few cakes, made of natchenny meal, a small quantity of rice, and a few coco-nuts, composed the whole of a Kandyan soldier's stock for a campaign of fifteen days. At the end of this period, the army was recruited by a new levy from the population.

Until the reign of Rajah Singha I., a very inefficient military policy prevailed; but this sagacious monarch soon saw that a want of discipline, and an inferiority of arms, rendered his countrymen unfit to cope with their enemies. When the Portuguese took the field, he found himself at first frequently defeated. Perceiving the causes of these defeats, he changed the mode of his warfare, and, instead of trusting all to the issue of a single battle, he engaged his enemy in petty skirmishes, long marches, and wasting delays, (*Knighton.*) He, in fact, endeavoured to blockade them in the field. His whole energy was next directed to obtain fire-arms, without which he perceived the futility of his attempts to repulse the enemy.

The blacksmiths of the country make efficient firelocks, and the natives manufacture tolerably good gunpowder. Saltpetre is found in abundance in the island, and the sulphur is procured by importation. Instead of

leaden bullets, they frequently use a portion of a rod of iron, about an inch long.

A leaf of the talipot-tree serves to protect a Kandyan from the heat of the sun during the day; and two men, by placing the broad end of their leaves together, with the aid of a few sticks, can form a tent that will completely defend them against rain, and shelter them during the night.

The country being generally covered with trees, or low brushwood, the natives are enabled to conceal themselves within gunshot of an invading foe; and they were accustomed to impede the march of an enemy by felling, and placing as abbatis, large trees across defiles. In narrow passes, where these obstructions could not be avoided, they proved a serious obstacle. Aware of the advantages they possessed in being familiar with the country, they avoided close combat, and wisely preferred desultory warfare. They harass the enemy on his marches, hang on his flanks, cut off his supplies, interrupt the communication between garrisons or detachments, and occupy the heights which command the passes, whence they fire from behind rocks or trees. As the troops are, from the nature of the path, often obliged to march in single file, they are much exposed to the fire of the enemy. Two or three men will, by these means, annoy a party of several hundreds. The Kandyans are said to aim principally at the coollies, who carry the ammunition and provisions, without which a regular force can make but little progress. To dislodge Kandyans from heights is a task of much difficulty, the paths being well known only to the inhabitants.—(*Narrative of an Expedition to Kandy, &c., by Captain Johnston.*)

For a long period hostile operations in the Kandyan

country generally proved unfavourable to the constitutions of the European race, so much so, that the insalubrity of the climate was a powerful auxiliary to the security of the native government.

To these difficulties, arising from the nature of the country, and the manner of fighting practised by the natives, together with a hereditary hatred of Europeans, may in a great measure be attributed the remarkable circumstance of a tract of country, in the heart of an island, cut off from all external supplies, and every where surrounded by a settlement of foreigners, so long remaining in the hands of a people neither strong nor warlike, in spite of repeated and most determined efforts to wrest it from them by three European nations in succession.

Government.—The government of the kingdom of Kandy was, like all the governments in India, a despotism. No one was qualified to sit on the throne, unless he belonged to the rajah caste, and professed to maintain the religion of Boodhoo. The throne could hardly be called hereditary; for although the sons of former kings occasionally succeeded, they were also frequently set aside, and a king elected by the chiefs. The prerogative of birth, as a claim to the crown of Kandy, seems never to have obtained the sanction of popular opinion, and hence, any faction might entertain hopes of dictating who should occupy the vacant throne. To the want of an established rule in regard to the succession, may be attributed "the frequent civil wars through which an Asiatic despot is obliged to cut his way to the throne of his fathers." In the history of Ceylon we frequently read of depositions and usurpations; yet these appear to have passed over without much disturbing the mass of the population. Like most other nations under despotic

rule, the Kandyans frequently changed their masters, without making any attempt to improve their political condition. When a king died who had no near relations, and who had not nominated a successor, the office of selection devolved on the ministers, who proposed a candidate to the chiefs and people, and with their consent placed him on the throne.

The last four kings who ascended the throne of Kandy were elected in this way, and the persons elected were all near relations to the Hindoo queens of the preceding king. The Singalese dynasty had, therefore, been for a considerable time extinct. None of the Hindoo queens of the first three of the kings mentioned left any issue. It appears to have been customary for the kings to marry Hindoo ladies, being connections of a family who formerly held an independent sovereignty in a small state near Madura, on the peninsula of India. The relations of the queens resided in a particular street in Kandy, (Malabar Street,) and although they were seldom raised to situations of trust and emolument, they all had revenues assigned to them for their support. They were usually designated *Nayakaras*, (relations of the king.) They were in constant attendance at court, and by their familiar intercourse with the king and the queens, they greatly moderated the influence of the Singalese or Kandyan courtiers. Owing to the jealousy which the Kandyan chiefs entertained of each other, they often elected a Nayakara to the throne, in preference to choosing one of themselves to be the sovereign.

The king was the acknowledged lord of the soil; he taxed the people, and determined the services they were to perform. All offices of government were at his disposal, and all honours as well as power emanated from him; for, says Knox, "he ruleth absolute, and after his

own will and pleasure—his own head being his only counsellor."

In the Shasters, the great authority with oriental monarchs, the boldest figures are employed to display the irresistible power, the glory, and almost the divinity of a king. He was subject to no legal control by human authority, and neither the councils nor chiefs appear to have possessed any constitutional power but what they received from his will. He was, no doubt, generally kept within certain bounds by the fear of mutiny and rebellion. He was also taught to regard his nearest neighbours and their allies as hostile; the powers next beyond these natural foes as amicable, and all remote powers as neutral.—(*Elphinston's India.*)

The natives of India may be said to be very tolerant of despotism, if not of despots, for, although they frequently change their tyrants, they seldom or never take any effectual steps to prevent future oppression, in fact, to rid themselves of tyranny. They seem to look upon the kind of government under which they live as something that necessarily exists, and that cannot be otherwise. Man is, in a great degree, formed by the society in which he lives, and the circumstances under which he is placed. The natives of India do not seem to be aware that good government is their due; indeed, a people accustomed to a despotic government appear to be incapable of appreciating the value of a power to restrain their supreme rulers in any other way but by deposing or assassinating them. Absolute power implies passive obedience, and an implicit and habitual submission to the despot who rules, as well as to his officers.

The chief strength of the court of Kandy consisted in the common jealousy of the aristocracy towards each other, on which account a foreign or Malabar dynasty

was preferred to a native or Singalese dynasty. The king, although an unlimited monarch, and apparently invested with power and dignity, in reality possessed few or none of the advantages which bestow on monarchs their grandeur and influence. He was, properly speaking, only a chief, whose dignity and rank were sanctioned by other chiefs, and sustained by their attachment and authority. His money revenues were extremely limited ; and having no efficient standing army, he had little independent power.

The king who was deposed in 1815 entertained a body-guard of about fifty or sixty Malays, mostly the descendants of runaway Dutch slaves, and deserters from the Dutch Malay corps. These mercenaries were little to be depended upon, which is evident from their being commonly found more or less implicated in the several conspiracies which were formed against the king.

The officers of highest rank were the ministers denominated Adikars. These were commonly two, but sometimes three in number. The duties of the adikars were very comprehensive : in addition to the office of ministers, they had also the duties of chief justice and military commanders to perform. All the public officers, from the rank of adikar to that of the village vidaan, were invested with more or less judicial power.

The chiefs of dissavonies were called Dissaves, who had nearly sovereign power in their own district. They were nominated by the king, and presented by the adikar to the assembled mohotals, a subordinate class of officers in the district, for the purpose of ascertaining whether they had any objection to the chief whom the king had selected to be their dissave, their assent being held necessary to complete the appointment.

These measures were obviously intended to render all

public appointments popular; but, owing to a corrupt administration of recognised usages, it is alleged that most of the official appointments were obtained by purchase; those who purchased situations, no doubt, intending to avail themselves of the influence of their office to exercise extreme exaction.

The duties of the chiefs of districts were to administer justice, to collect the revenue, and to superintend every other part of government under their command. For these purposes, the dissaves generally made an annual circuit through their districts; but the king, being unfavourable to their acquiring much influence or popularity with the people, often recalled them after a short absence from the capital.

The revenue of each district having been ascertained, it was the duty of the dissave to have the amount collected and paid into the treasury, a chief being held responsible for any failure in the king's dues.

The duties and services of the people to the king consisted chiefly in serving as militia when required. "Every man was expected to take the field with a musket of his own, the king providing ammunition; and he was expected to continue on service until he received permission to return home." He was also obliged to labour at public works, and to attend certain religious festivals. He had, at the same time, to pay an annual quit-rent to the king, as lord of the soil, of one-twentieth of the rice it produced, and six challies, or about a halfpenny each for chena ground. Paddy lands now pay a tax generally of one-tenth of the produce, but varying from one-half to one-fourteenth. The increase of the land-tax took place in 1818, three years after the country had been in possession of the English.

Judicial Department.—The Kandyan judges were, it is alleged, not guided by a written code of laws. "Here are no laws," says Knox, "but the will of the king, and whatsoever proceeds out of his mouth is an immutable law ; nevertheless, they have certain ancient usages and customs that do prevail, and are observed as laws, and pleading them in their courts, and before their governors, will go a great way." Causes in dispute were decided according to ancient custom, and the common principles of equity acknowledged by all mankind ; but in practice, whenever a case was in any degree complicated, or the right doubtful, it was generally decided in favour of the party who bribed highest, who, in vulgar language, gave the most valuable *boolat sooraloo.* The literal meaning of this phrase implies a mouthful of betel, but, when used metaphorically, it bears the sense of a bribe or present. Both parties usually bribed a judge ; but the party who lost his cause was entitled to have his *boolat sooraloo* returned. The dissaves had power to punish disorderly persons, chiefly by inflicting a fine on them, which fine became their own, and also by committing them to prison, whence they rarely issued without money being given as a bribe.

An appeal might be made from the decision of a subordinate to a superior chief, till it reached the king, whose sentence was in all cases final. "The deposed king lost his popularity with the principal chiefs in consequence of his having made some severe examples for the purpose of restraining their abuse of power, more especially their oppressive manner of administering justice."—(*Simon Sawers' MS. Notes.*)

Crimes and Punishments.—Individuals were punishable with death who molested, persecuted, or killed their

parents, teachers, priests, or any other persons, together with those who committed offences against the king, broke down bo-trees, defaced dagobahs (buildings attached to temples,) as also those who stole articles devoted to Boodhoo or the gods, who pilfered property belonging to the king, robbed upon the road, plundered villages, &c.—(*See Bertolacci, Laws and Usages of the Kandyans.*)

The punishment of death was usually carried into effect by hanging, or by being killed by elephants, the bodies being exposed, or hung in chains, in a similar manner to that which continues to be adopted in the territories of the Honourable the East India Company, and which, until lately, was practised in this country. Men of rank were decapitated with a sword, while they sat on the ground; losing the head being, as with us, considered the most honourable mode of receiving capital punishment. Females were drowned.*

No one but the king himself had the power of passing the sentence of death.

Secondary Punishments.—This class of punishments

* The infliction of capital punishment upon women, by drowning, in the Kandyan provinces, was abolished in 1826.

At one time in Scotland the ordinary punishment of females for crimes of lesser magnitude was drowning. In cases of murder, treason, witchcraft, &c., they were beheaded or burnt at the stake. It was common for regality and barony courts to execute women by drowning. The North Loch of Edinburgh was the scene of execution in all such cases where sentence was pronounced by the bailies of Edinburgh, or by the bailie of regality of Broughton. The mode of execution by drowning was different in Ceylon and in Scotland. In Kandy, the female who was to be put to death was enclosed in a sack and thrown into a tank. But in Scotland, courts having the feudal rights of "pit and gallows," sentenced women convicted of theft to be drowned in a pit or *fowsie*. There are instances recorded where females in Scotland were drowned by tying them to stakes within the sea water-mark, at low water, a contrivance which rendered their death lingering and dreadful.

consisted of dismemberment of various kinds; mutilation by cutting off the hands, noses, and ears, and also imprisonment with irons, flogging, fines, &c. Male offenders were occasionally made to stand for a long time with a heavy stone laid on their shoulders. Females were punished by being obliged to stand with a heavy basket of sand on their heads. The punishment of the stocks was also employed. An oath made under a bogah tree was considered binding in all cases.

Sometimes delinquents were banished to insalubrious districts where the cause of fever was prevalent, namely, Badula and Telepaika.—(*Laws and Usages of the Kandyans. Appendix to Bertolacci's Work on the Commercial Interests of Ceylon.*)

The most severe of the secondary punishments of females was to be delivered to the Rodias, the lowest caste in Ceylon. When the king heard of the treason of Eheylapola, and of his having taken refuge in the maritime provinces, he ordered the wives and daughters of the palanquin-bearers of the adikar who had accompanied their chief to the coast, to be delivered to the Rodias of Saffragam for defilement; but they refused to have any connection with them, observing, at the same time, that it was not their custom to have any intercourse with females under such circumstances, unless they were of a much higher caste than the wives of palanquin-bearers. Knox describes the delivering up of the wives and daughters of delinquents to be defiled by Rodias as "a far worse punishment than any kind of death."

The mode of administering justice was, apparently, very simple. In an ordinary dispute about land, which was the most common subject of litigation, the disputants usually commenced by referring the point in dispute to the arbitration of their neighbours: if dissatisfied

with their decision, the cause might be carried before the coral of the village or district, and from him to the mohotals: if still dissatisfied, they might apply to the dissave, and after him to the adikar, and even to the king. Much of the time of a dissave was spent in administering justice; he usually sat in a pandal, sometimes in an *amblum*, or rest-house, and was treated with the greatest reverence by the subordinate headmen and people. The amblum, when not employed as a courthouse, served as a resting place for travellers, and where the men of the village met to retail and hear news, and chew betel.

Degree of Unhealthiness to European Troops.—The annual average mortality of the regular infantry corps of the British army employed in the united kingdom, has been ascertained to amount to about 15 per 1000; and, as the age of the great bulk of the men of the army, both at home and abroad, is comprehended between 20 and 40 years, the difference of mortality which occurs among troops in a colony or dependency, from that which takes place at home, may be considered a measure of the salubrity of a climate, together with the inseparable contingencies of military life in a particular colony.

The following table will show the strength of the 19th Regiment, together with the number of deaths, the proportion of deaths per 1000 of the mean strength, and the stations in Ceylon where the corps was employed, from 1796 till 1819 inclusive, being a period of twenty-four years:—

Years.	Mean strength.	Deaths.	Proportion of Deaths per 1000.	Where employed.
1796.	1035	20	19	At sea, Cape of Good Hope, and Colombo, Ceylon.
1797.	1030	46	44	Colombo.
1798.	1002	26	25	Colombo.
1799.	941	90	95	Colombo; 5 companies on service in India.
1800.	882	72	81	Trincomalee.
1801.	854	39	46	Trincomalee.
1802.	905	46	50	Trincomalee.
1803.	843	338	400	Kandy and Trincomalee.
1804.	642	128	199	Trincomalee.
1805.	528	44	83	Trincomalee.
1806.	451	12	26	Colombo.
1807.	793	20	25	Colombo.
1808.	828	17	20	Colombo.
1809.	796	45	56	Peninsula of India.
1810.	776	39	50	Colombo.
1811.	729	17	23	Colombo.
1812.	785	14	17	Colombo.
1813.	938	20	21	Colombo.
1814.	910	67	73	Trincomalee.
1815.	1142	114	99	Trincomalee.
1816.	1019	38	37	Trincomalee.
1817.	930	91	97	Trincomalee.
1818.	748	114	152	Kandyan provinces.
1819.	598	41	58	Kandyan provinces and Galle.
Total, ...	20,105	1498		
Average,	837	63	76	

Thus it appears that the mean annual mortality per 1000, in the 19th Regiment, for the time specified, was - - - - - - - 76

The annual average of men invalided was - 27

Total annual decrement per 1000, - - 103

The chief part of the elementary materials from which this Table is constructed was obtained from Captain Hawker, when he was adjutant to the 19th Regiment.

In 1820, the regiment returned to England.

The following Table will show the admissions into hospital, and deaths among the European troops serving in Ceylon for a period of twenty years :—

Years.	Mean Strength per War Office Returns.	Admissions into Hospital.	Deaths per Medical Returns.	Ratio per 1000 of Mean Strength.	
				Admitted.	Died.
1817.	1994	3027	145	1518	73
1818.	2863	8288	625	2895	218
1819.	2593	6128	328	2419	129
1820.	2703	4850	113	1794	42
1821.	2490	3655	106	1467	43
1822.	2156	3095	152	1436	71
1823.	2000	2577	101	1288	50
1824.	1812	3564	273	1967	151
1825.	1448	3367	132	2325	91
1826.	1854	3079	64	1661	35
1827.	2101	3569	95	1669	45
1828.	2153	3561	74	1654	34
1829.	2279	3562	108	1563	47
1830.	2192	3148	89	1436	41
1831.	2186	3123	78	1429	36
1832.	2056	3009	198	1464	96
1833.	2002	2434	60	1216	30
1834.	2060	2723	77	1322	37
1835.	2005	2466	111	1230	55
1836.	2089	2875	71	1376	34
Total,	42,978	72,100	3000		
Average,	2149		150	1.678	69.8

By this Table, it appears that, on an average, every man was admitted into hospital in about seven months,

being in the proportion of nearly two to one in this country. The annual average mortality in hospital per 1000 is 69 8-10ths; but as the deaths which occurred out of hospital during the above period amounted to 217, the total mortality has been 75 per 1000, or five times that of troops serving in the united kingdom.

In perusing the foregoing Tables, the reader will recollect that the English were at war with the Kandyans in 1803 and 1818, in which years the mortality of the troops was greatly increased.

The prevailing diseases in Ceylon, both among emigrants from Europe and the indigenous inhabitants of the island, are endemic fever, bowel complaints, and diseases of the liver.

HISTORICAL SKETCH, &c.

CEYLON was discovered by the Portuguese in 1505, and in 1517 they established a small trading settlement at Colombo, by permission of the reigning king, Dharma Praakramabahoo IX., who then resided at Cotta, a few miles from the present capital of the island. In 1520, they laid the foundation of a fort, a measure which was strongly opposed by some of the native chiefs, but without success. For a short time the Portuguese restricted themselves to commercial pursuits; but, having strongly fortified themselves at Colombo, they commenced to make a conquest of the island by hostile measures, and intolerable rapacity. The natives retaliated, and for a time put to death every European who fell into their hands. An army of 20,000 men assembled to besiege Colombo, and for five months the fort was strictly invested, and the garrison suffered severely for want of provisions. A reinforcement having arrived from Cochin, the governor of the fort made a sortie with 3000 men, when the native army was put to flight. A treaty having been concluded, hostilities ceased for a short period.

Praakramabahoo died in 1527, and was succeeded on the throne by his brother Wijayabahoo VII. This

king having been opposed by three sons in his intention of naming a grandson as his successor, he resolved to strengthen his situation by forming an alliance with the Portuguese. The allies were soon called upon to suppress a rebellion of the king's subjects. From this time the Portuguese were hardly ever at peace during the whole period they held power in Ceylon. It is not the object of the writer to enter into the details of this protracted warfare, a brief summary being presumed to be all that is required.

Such was the state of affairs between the two powers about the year 1590, that the Portuguese occupied the town of Kandy, while Rajah Singha I., the king of Ceylon, was besieging Colombo. The Portuguese within the fort were hard pressed. A Ceylonese army, under the command of a native ally of the Europeans, came to their relief, and the siege was raised. Rajah Singha died in 1592.

Wimala Dharma succeeded to the throne. This prince is usually denominated Don John by the Portuguese historians. When very young, he was a refugee among the Portuguese; and, having assumed the character of a Christian, was baptized under that title. The Portuguese did not approve of his assuming kingly authority in Kandy, but they had not the power at the time to prevent that event. Reinforcements were, however, soon after received from Goa, under the command of a General named De Souza. On reaching Ceylon, he lost no time in advancing against Don John, now the Kandyan monarch, taking with him Catherina, a candidate for the throne of Kandy. During his march, he was joined by a native chief with 20,000 men. In consequence of a stratagem instituted by the king, De Souza suspected the fidelity of this chief, and with his own

hand plunged a dagger into his breast. The Portuguese, who continued to advance, were attacked by the king's army in the Balany Pass, and every man was killed. Of that powerful army, not a living being was saved but Donna Catherina, who eventually became the wife of Wimala Dharma.

Shortly after this defeat, another attempt was made by the Portuguese to reduce the island. Don Jerome de Azevedo was placed at the head of this new expedition, and, with the most sanguine hopes of success, proceeded to carry the wishes of government into effect. He met the Kandyan or native forces in the Pass of Balany. The Portuguese attacked the enemy with fury, being confident of victory from their superior discipline, and more efficient arms. The battle was, for a long time, maintained with equal valour on both sides. The Europeans fought with desperate obstinacy, instigated by honour and despair. At length, numbers, perseverance, and resolution, conquered, and the native forces remained masters of the field. Azevedo, who displayed great talents, and the most determined bravery in assailing the enemy, showed equal ability in conducting a retreat. Having collected the relics of his army, he marched for the sea-coast, his little band being harassed by the enemy for five tedious days before they reached the nearest place of safety, which was the fort of Colombo.

A revolted chief having been, about this time, taken by the Portuguese, was put to death, notwithstanding the most solemn assurances given to him that his life would be spared. The execution of this man was the prelude for fearful retaliation on the part of the king, and numbers of the Portuguese were, soon after, horribly mutilated in Kandy, and sent to Colombo.

The Portuguese now resolved to endeavour to assassinate the king, and five assassins were hired by Azevedo himself for that purpose; but they were themselves slain in the Balany Pass, the sovereign having had notice of their intention.

We in vain expect to see any trace of the humanizing influence of civilization and Christianity in the conduct of the Portuguese. To all the faithlessness and cruelty of the Kandyans, they added the aggressive rapacity of robbers. It is curious to observe, in the history of nations, with how slow a progress humane and benevolent feelings make their way in a population. This is remarkable, not only in Asia, or in a low grade of civilization, but also in better civilized societies, and where Christianity has been the professed religion for many centuries.

On the 29th March 1602, Admiral Spilbergen, a Dutch naval commander, anchored in the mouth of a river near to Batticallo, and immediately opened a correspondence with a native chief of that part of the island. Spilbergen having got orders, on sailing, from the Prince of Orange, to conclude an offensive and defensive alliance with the Kandyan government, determined to proceed to Kandy, and to treat with the king in person. On the 6th July, he accordingly set out for Kandy, and was treated, during the whole journey, with peculiar marks of honour and respect. He was kindly received, and nobly entertained by the king, who dispensed with the ceremonies usually practised on such occasions by the Kandyan court. Nothing could exceed the familiarity and kindness of the king to his new guest. The admiral obtained permission for the Dutch to build a fort on the sea-shore, and a free trade in cinnamon and pepper was also yielded. Having rejoined his

squadron, the admiral sailed from Batticallo on the 6th September. He soon after captured three Portuguese vessels, which he presented to the king.

Sibald de Weerd, another Dutch commander, arrived soon after, and proceeded at once to Kandy, where he was received by the king in the most frank and amicable manner. He left Ceylon for Achin, and on returning to Batticallo, the king hastened to meet him. The admiral having got drunk, behaved very uncourteously to the sovereign, who, being offended, ordered his attendants to "bind that dog!" A struggle ensued, and De Weerd was killed.

Wimala Dharma died in 1604, leaving two sons, neither of whom was, as yet, equal to maintaining his own rights. A brother of the late king, by name Senerat, succeeded to the throne, and married Catharina, his brother's widow.

In 1612, Marcellus de Boschhouder arrived at Kandy, where a treaty was once more entered into between the Dutch and the Ceylonese monarch. By this treaty, the Dutch obtained the king's permission to erect a fort at Cottiar, near Trincomalee, and an exclusive right to the trade of Ceylon. The Portuguese were much displeased with the construction of this fort, which was garrisoned by a company of soldiers brought by Boschhouder. They resolved to reduce it; and, during the same year, 1000 Portuguese and 3000 Indians, under the command of Simon Correa, a distinguished soldier, proceeded from their possessions for that purpose. The fort being quickly taken, every one of its inhabitants was put to the sword. To revenge the injury sustained by the Dutch, Senerat despatched a body of 5000 men, who fell upon the Portuguese before they reached their own territory, and completely routed them, having, according

to Ribeyro, killed 600, and taken a great number prisoners.

Senerat, wishing to expel the Portuguese from Ceylon, adopted the unprecedented policy of sending his favourite, Boschhouder, to Holland to solicit succours which were not to be found in India. The mission proved unsuccessful, and Boschhouder died on the passage from Europe to Ceylon.

In the year 1623, according to Ribeyro, Constantine de Saa and Noronha arrived at Colombo, having been appointed captain-general of the island a second time. One of the first acts of his government was, to proceed to Trincomalee, where he directed a fort to be built, and soon after he also ordered a place of strength to be constructed at Batticallo. The constructing and garrisoning of these forts gave offence to the king, who foresaw that he would thereby be prevented from exporting the produce of his country. The hostile feeling which had long existed between the two powers became greatly increased, and active warfare commenced by an inroad of the Kandyans into the maritime, or Portuguese territory. De Saa took the field with his troops, and having defeated the opposition made to him on his march, reached the town of Kandy, which he burned to the ground. He had, during his march, burned and destroyed every thing which came within the reach of his army: the cattle were slaughtered; the houses were burnt; and all the barbarities of war usually adopted by a savage people, were put in practice to a fearful extent. The king fled to Uwa, to which province he was followed by De Saa, who put every thing to fire and sword, but failed in his object of capturing the king. A barbarous and bloody war continued to be waged for some time, until, apparently, both parties had become

tired of it, and a temporary cessation of hostilities took place.

Such was the situation of events when Constantine de Saa was directed by the Viceroy of India to recommence a war of aggression, for the purpose of subjugating the whole island—a measure for the attainment of which he was by no means adequately provided. Having with great difficulty assembled an army of about 1500 Portuguese, and 20,000 natives, he marched, in August 1630, into the interior. He commenced hostilities by burning the chief town of the province of Uwa, and was soon after met by a large army at Wellawaya, under the command of Rajah Singha,—a son of the king by Catharina,—then only seventeen years of age, and of his two half-brothers, sons of Wimala Dharma. A combat was anticipated, and the Portuguese passed the night in religious devotion, whilst De Saa went from rank to rank, exhorting them to remember their former valour, and the weighty consequences which hung on the approaching conflict. "Before," said he, "you have battled for glory; now you must fight for your lives!" On the morrow the battle began with desperate fury on both sides. A defection took place of a great number of De Saa's native auxiliaries. The Europeans fought like men in despair, and, in this manner, the combat continued until interrupted by the darkness of night. Torrents of rain prevented repose, and rendered their fire-arms inefficient. Next day, the battle was resumed, and Constantine de Saa and every one of his army were killed on the field.

The young princes followed up their victory: they besieged and took some forts which the Portuguese had constructed on the Maha Villa Ganga, near to Kandy; invaded the Four Corles; and laid siege to Colombo.

Assault after assault was bravely made, and as bravely repulsed. At one time, every hope seemed lost to the besieged, and it was only by the resolute valour of the burghers and slaves that the fort was preserved. After the garrison had suffered severely from want of provisions, reinforcements arrived to the Portuguese, and the siege was raised.

Senerat died in 1634, and was succeeded by a princely triumvirate, each of whom had a separate command. Rajah Singha, the youngest of the three brothers, was not long in assuming the sovereignty of the island, nor did he delay in maintaining his assumption by force of arms. One of the brothers took refuge among the Portuguese; the other brother died; and Rajah Singha II., sometimes called "the Great," reigned paramount. During an unsettled condition of the country, from a disputed succession, the Portuguese, hoping to extend their power and their conquests, despatched an army to the interior, under the command of Diego de Melo and Damien Bottado. The army, according to Valentyn, consisted of 2300 whites and half-castes, and 6000 Indians; but, according to another authority, the force was composed of 700 Europeans and 28,000 Indians. Having reached the capital, and satiated their avarice and their cruelty, they commenced a retreat. Rajah Singha had, in the interim, adopted means to obstruct their progress, by barricading the Balany, and the other passes to Colombo. The king sent an embassy to De Melo, demanding of him, *whether his religion taught him to advance into the territories of one who was at peace with him? and solemnly invoking the curse of that God whom he* (De Melo) *professed to adore, on the party which was culpable.* The Portuguese were surrounded and attacked on every side with arrows and spears; and

being deserted by a great number of their native auxiliaries, could make no impression upon their enemies. Seeing no chance of escape, they sent a Franciscan and Augustinian monk to the king, to endeavour to negotiate a peace, on the condition that they might be permitted to return to Colombo free from further molestation, but without success. Rajah Singha would enter into no terms with them for that purpose. The combat is said to have lasted a night and a day. By one authority, seventy Europeans, and by another, thirty-three only were left alive, and they were made prisoners.

The long-continued hostilities between the Portuguese and the Kandyans was a desperate and bloody struggle between two races, who vied with one another in the barbarity of their warfare. The weaker and less civilized party made up by cunning for the indiscriminating atrocities of the stronger, who had, with occasional intermissions, for nearly a century, been inflicting upon the Kandyans all the horrors and atrocities of war, uncontrolled by the conventional checks imposed upon it when carried on between European nations. Indiscriminate slaughter appears to have been as much the object of the Portuguese as that of the invaded Kandyans.

Rajah Singha perceiving the difficulty that he would have to expel the Portuguese from Ceylon, resolved to send an embassy to a Dutch settlement in India, requesting assistance for the purpose of driving them from the island. In pursuance of this design, he sent a long letter, dated September 9th, 1636, to the Dutch governor of *Paliacatta*. A Brahmin, who was the bearer of this letter, was for six months detained at Jaffna before he could meet with a safe opportunity of proceeding to the

coast of Coromandel. On receipt of Rajah Singha's letter, the governor of Paliacatta forwarded it to Batavia to "the Great Council of the Indies." Envoys were forthwith despatched to Kandy, and, eventually, a treaty of alliance was entered into between the Dutch and the Ceylonese monarch. According to the stipulations of this treaty, the Dutch were to furnish troops to assist in the expulsion of the Portuguese, the king being to pay all the expenses of the war. The king was to be placed in possession of the fortified places which might be taken from the Portuguese, and the Dutch were to have the entire monopoly of the trade of the island.

Previously to signing the treaty, the king stated to the Dutch deputies the condition in which he stood with the Portuguese local government at Colombo. He informed them that, although he adopted every means in his power to preserve peace with his neighbours, and paid, with the utmost regularity, the tribute to the crown of Portugal, to which his father had submitted, his pacific intentions were frequently defeated. Owing to the caprices of the governors, there was no security in treating with them. Upon the most trifling occasion, they marched an army into his territory, pillaged the country, and burnt the villages. Within a few years they had reduced to ashes the principal town of the province of Uwa, together with Kandy, the capital of the kingdom. He represented, that although he had repeatedly defeated them in the field, they were always ready for war, by which means he saw that, in a short time, he should not have an inch of territory in the island; and, on that account, he had come to the resolution to enter into terms of amity with the Dutch, and to make such stipulations with them as might lead to their reciprocal advantage.

The deputies replied by stating, that they were well

aware of the oppressive disposition of the Portuguese; that similar complaints were made of their tyranny in the peninsula of India, and in the other Eastern countries where they had formed colonies; that it was to liberate the inhabitants of these countries from the oppression under which they suffered that the Dutch had come so far from their own country; that the Portuguese had no right to any part of the island of Ceylon; and that the Dutch East India Company were able and willing to expel them from the island without exacting any remuneration for their services.

The king promised that, in addition to the expenses of the armament, he would pay a certain sum for each officer or soldier who died in the service, according to the rank he held in the army; that another sum should be given for every man who lost an arm, a leg, or an eye, and that the sum should be somewhat higher for a right eye, a right leg, or a right arm, than for a left eye, leg, or arm. The treaty having been regularly signed, the Dutch deputies left Ceylon.—(*Ribeyro, Histoire de l'Isle de Ceylan*, p. 222.)

In compliance with the treaty in question, Batticallo was attacked in 1639, and soon taken by Admiral Westerwold, who commanded a force of 600 men, with six pieces of cannon. Trincomalee was next invested; and although the garrison consisted of only 50 men, it did not capitulate until twenty-three of their number had been killed. Before the other places of strength surrendered, the struggle was long and bloody. Negombo and Galle fell into the hands of the Dutch in 1640. Negombo was a second time taken in 1644. Caltura fell in 1655.

A temporary pacification took place between the Dutch and Portuguese in 1646, during which the Dutch

authorities at Negombo carried off some tame elephants belonging to the King of Kandy, who was so enraged at the circumstance, that he surrounded a body of their troops in the Seven Corles, and after slaying the commander, Adrian Vander Stell, cut off his head, and sent it in a silk bag to his countrymen on the sea coast, ordering, at the same time, 688 Dutchmen into captivity in the Kandyan country. The Dutch exerted all their address to effect a reconciliation with the king, who, it would appear, already hesitated between the policy of uniting his influence with his former enemies or his recently acquired friends, but in the end the Dutch prevailed.

Colombo capitulated in 1656, having been besieged for seven months by the forces of Rajah Singha, consisting of about 20,000 men, and the Dutch troops. The King of Kandy resided in the neighbourhood of Colombo during the siege; and when the fort surrendered, he expected that it would be delivered into his hands, according to the stipulations of the treaty entered into by the Dutch, but they retained it in their own possession.

When Colombo capitulated, the garrison, consisting of 90 soldiers, who, with 100 armed inhabitants, were conveyed to Negapatnam, on the peninsula of India, "then in possession of the Portuguese; but, half sick and half starved as they were," they were soon after prevailed upon to reinforce Jaffnapatam, although they were well aware that the Dutch would before long besiege that garrison. We learn from Baldeus, that Rajah Singha "stiffly" urged the surrender of Negombo and Colombo into his hands by virtue of the treaty between him and the Dutch, but without success. The king thus concludes one of his letters to the Dutch Captain-General of the Island :—"*I would have you remember, that*

such as know not God, and do not keep their word, will, one time or other, be sensible of the ill consequences thereof: I know I have God on my side." Rajah Singha perceiving that the Dutch had no intention to fulfil the treaty, withdrew his support from them, and in an under-hand manner rather encouraged than repulsed the Portuguese. He was obviously doubtful which party was the most perfidious, as neither fulfilled the most solemn treaties, even although confirmed, according to the usage of the age, by oath.

Jaffnapatam, the last of the forts occupied by the Portuguese, was besieged and taken by the Dutch in 1658. When it capitulated, a considerable number of soldiers laid down their arms, although during the siege, which lasted three months and a half, they had lost nearly one thousand six hundred men by the sword and disease. Baldeus preached a thanksgiving sermon on the occasion, the text being Exod. xvii. 15.

A large portion of the troops employed in reducing Jaffnapatam having been detached to besiege Negapatnam, on the Coromandel coast, the garrison chiefly consisted of Portuguese volunteers, although there were a considerable number of prisoners in the castle. The Portuguese volunteers and prisoners, together with some of the natives, "not without the consent of Rajah Singha," formed a plot to put to death all the officers in the castle, during divine service. The guard were next to be attacked, by which means they hoped to make themselves master of the castle. The conspiracy was discovered by accident, and not long after, most of the conspirators having confessed their crimes, some were condemned to be hanged, others to be beheaded. The three chief conspirators were laid upon the wheel, and after they had received a stroke with the axe on the neck, and on the

breast, had their entrails taken out, and the heart laid upon the mouth. A thanksgiving sermon was preached on this occasion, "out of the book of *Esther*, chapter ix. 20—24." *

When the Portuguese arrived in India, they found the trade in the hands of the Arabians, from whom they gradually wrested it by their naval superiority. Not content with acquiring the ascendancy at sea, they soon endeavoured to become masters of the land. For this purpose they had recourse both to fraud and violence. Having obtained permission to erect warehouses at the seaports on the coast, these warehouses were, under the pretext of securing them against the incursions of robbers and pirates, soon converted into castles and fortresses. By sowing dissensions among the neighbouring chiefs, and professing to help the injured against the aggressor, they eventually obtained possession of many

* In 1659, or one year after the Dutch had completed the conquest of the maritime provinces, Captain Robert Knox, his son, and several of the crew of the Ann frigate, were taken prisoners at Batticallo, and removed to Kandy or its neighbourhood, where they were kept prisoners. The younger Knox and another prisoner made their escape in 1679, having reached Aripo October 18th. Captain Knox and most of the others had died before the prisoners left Kandy. Mr Knox was kindly received at Colombo by the Dutch governor, Ryklof Van Goens. In 1681, he published his excellent "Historical Relation of the Island of Ceylon, &c.," a book which deserves the highest commendation. We are indebted to Knox for the only full account which has been published of that extraordinary man, Rajah Singha II., who died in 1684 or 1687, after a reign of upwards of 50 years. Knox's work was translated into the French language, and published at Amsterdam, as early as 1693. In 1819, Mr Sawers and the writer of this sketch paid a visit to Mr Knox's "piece of land," which, he tells us, "lay about ten miles to the southward of the city of Kandy, in the county of Udda Neur, near to the town of Elledat." We thought we discovered the place where his house stood. There is a tradition among the inhabitants of Udda Neur, that a white man once lived at Elledat, and that he was much respected by his neighbours.

important points. The King of Portugal monopolized in India the trade in cinnamon, pepper, and other precious commodities, while he left the commerce of the less valuable articles in the hands of his subjects. The desire of dominion increased with their means; but the population of Portugal was unable to furnish the requisite number of troops, and to recruit establishments. In order to supply the deficiency, they had recourse to two expedients, namely, marriage with the native women, and the conversion of the natives to the Roman Catholic faith. These expedients proved but a feeble support to a power founded on injustice. In their allies, the chiefs of the interior, whom they had by turns cheated and oppressed, the Portuguese could repose no confidence, these chiefs being ever ready to practise the lessons of perfidy which they had learned from the example of the Europeans themselves. By successive alienations, the Portuguese lost their dominion on the coast of Canara in Persia, Muscat, Japan, &c. In Ceylon they maintained, as we have seen, a long and desperate conflict; and, for a considerable time, delayed the overthrow of their power.

After the Dutch had succeeded in rendering the fortifications tolerably complete, they began to push their posts farther and farther into the interior of the island, and to seize upon every spot which appeared adapted for their purpose. They also increased their demands on the king for the protection they afforded him as *guardians of his coasts*. Eventually the king fell suddenly upon their settlements, and committed great devastation. A long course of hostilities followed, without any lasting advantage to either party. Peace was never long-continued or secure between the governor on the coast and the king on the hills. The renewed incursions of the Dutch na-

turally led to a commencement of hostilities by the king. He was twice driven from his capital, and forced to seek refuge in the mountainous district of Digliggy, which was supposed to be the most impenetrable in his kingdom.* Encouraged by dissensions among the Kandyan chiefs, the Dutch took the field in 1763, with an army of 8000 men, composed of Europeans, Sepoys, and Malays, and made themselves masters of Kandy and the adjoining districts of Matele, Doombera, and Walapanne. For about nine months, they maintained a garrison in Kandy; but, in consequence of the vigilant hostility of the enemy, who intercepted their convoys and communications from the sea-coast, they were obliged to abandon their position, and to retreat to Colombo. After having suffered extreme privations, their provisions being nearly exhausted, and all communication with their settlements on the coast cut off for three months, the officer on whom the command had devolved, (Major Frankana,) a brave and experienced soldier, called a council of war, in which it was finally resolved, after much discussion, to endeavour to force their way to Colombo, as the only means of saving the wreck of the army from certain death. A

* In 1729, a very remarkable circumstance occurred, which is, I believe, unique in colonial policy. Petrus Vuyst, while governor of the maritime provinces of Ceylon, made an attempt to render himself an independent sovereign; and, in the prosecution of his plan, it is alleged he had recourse to the most atrocious cruelties. Having been arrested and sent to Batavia, he was sentenced to be broken alive upon the wheel, his body to be quartered, and those quarters to be burned upon a pile of wood, and his ashes collected and thrown into the sea. This mode of punishing criminals appears to be extremely barbarous, but it is not so much so as the vivisection and heart-roasting atrocities practised in this country on like occasions, even as late as 1746. Savage as the punishments of oriental barbarians may be, they are less revolting and atrocious than some of the punishments practised by civilized nations who profess to have embraced Christianity.

retreat was forthwith commenced, during which the sick, and those who were unable to keep up with the main body of the troops, were killed by the natives. At Sittavacca, another name for Avisahavilé, only two days' march from Colombo, 400 of their soldiers were overpowered and put to death. The few survivors at length reached Colombo, exhausted with hunger and fatigue.

The barbarities practised both by the Dutch and the Kandyans naturally entailed upon each an amount of suffering that one might be disposed to think was well deserved ; but the savage of civilization had less excuse than the savage of nature, who resisted aggression with all the vindictiveness which a sense of injury urges him to use, but which Christianity has not taught him to moderate.

The war was continued by a new governor, (Van Eck,) who succeeded in repulsing the Kandyans; and, by harassing and driving them to the mountains and forests, prevented them from cultivating their fields for some time. The Kandyan dissaves, it is alleged, were on the point of delivering up their king, upon condition that each should be left an independent sovereign in his own province, when governor Van Eck died. On the arrival of his successor, Governor Falck, negotiations with the court of Kandy were set on foot with success, and a peace was concluded on the 14th February 1766 by a treaty of which, although it was very favourable to the Dutch, they refused to fulfil some of the articles. Governor Falck considered it would be dangerous, if not impracticable, at that time to occupy the interior of the island, the productions of which could be purchased cheaper from the Kandyans themselves, than collected

by the Dutch government, even when in possession of the country.

In the wars of the Dutch with the Kandyans, it is alleged that the former treated their prisoners, of whatever rank or age, with the harshest rigour, and heaped upon them every mark of degradation which the most ingenious cruelty could furnish, or the most brutal barbarity inflict. The rapacity of the Dutch gave birth to a succession of petty wars, in which, though the Europeans were generally successful, the Kandyans were not subdued. Even in times of peace, it does not appear that there was ever much intercourse between the subjects of the two powers. The recollection of the grasping policy of the Portuguese, and the selfish conduct of the Dutch, induced the kings of Kandy to forbid their subjects to have any intercourse with Europeans of whatever nation; and they instructed them to hold in eternal abhorrence a race of people which, as appeared to them, no ties of honour could bind, and against whose treachery no prudence could guard.—(*Preface to the Miscellaneous Works of Hugh Boyd, Esq.*)

During the year 1763, the Madras government despatched Mr Pybus as ambassador to Kirti Sri Rajah Singha, king of Kandy, with instructions to assure the king of the friendship of the English, now the most potent power of the East, and to offer him ample succours to support a war with the Dutch. His reception is said to have been as favourable as could be expected, the ministers having declared that they would be happy to enter into terms of mutual friendship and alliance with the English government. It is difficult to conjecture what might have been the intentions of our councils at that time; but, to the surprise of the Kandyans, the

negotiations were not followed up by the Madras government. On the glaring want of good faith and the impolicy of this embassy, at a period when England and Holland were not only at perfect peace, but in strict alliance, no comment is necessary. The impolitic embassy in question, together with the representations of the Dutch, deservedly gave the court of Kandy a very unfavourable impression of the sincerity and good faith of the English.

Hostilities having been declared between Holland and England, during the war of independence of the United States of America, Lord Macartney, governor of Madras, resolved to add Ceylon to the list of conquests. For this purpose, Admiral Hughes sailed from the Coromandel coast on the 2d January 1782, and by the 11th of the same month, the English flag was planted on Trincomalee, the Dutch having made but a feeble resistance. The troops employed on this occasion were commanded by Sir Hector Munro. Mr Boyd, who had been deputed by his excellency Lord Macartney to the court of Kandy, left Trincomalee soon after it surrendered, and proceeded on his route to Kandy. The object of Mr Boyd's mission was to do away with the odium which had, from various causes, been affixed to our character, and also to announce to the king of Kandy that we were at war with the implacable enemy and incessant disturber of his country, and to endeavour to obtain his friendly disposition, if not his active aid, in our intended attack on the Dutch territories in Ceylon. The king being unwilling to become our ally on this occasion, for a time interdicted any communication between his subjects and us at Trincomalee.

The Kandyan ministers declared, however, to Mr Boyd, that they were extremely happy to receive the

friendly offers of the Madras government, and that it was their anxious desire to establish such a connection with the British power as he had proposed; but, in order to render the alliance sufficiently fair and respectable in the eyes of his Kandyan majesty, it was necessary to obtain the approval of the king of Great Britain. Mr Boyd having remonstrated with the Kandyan chiefs concerning the inconvenience and inutility of delaying so long as was necessary to receive the king's sanction, they replied by detailing the particulars of Mr Pybus' negotiation with them about twenty years before, and complained of its having had no practical result in their favour. They stated that Mr Pybus had been deputed to the court of Kandy with offers of friendship, which had been answered by them in an amicable manner; but that, on his return to Madras, the business, instead of being proceeded with effectually, as they expected, seemed to have been entirely dropped, and from that time to this they had never heard a syllable on the subject; that this departure from a negotiation so favourably begun, had greatly surprised and disappointed them, especially as they were on the eve of a rupture with the Dutch; that when that rupture took place, they were obliged to support the war themselves, without any assistance or even communication from Madras; but that now, when a rupture had happened *between the Dutch and us*, the communication was renewed;—that these circumstances could not but induce them to think that *our attention to their interest was governed only by adherence to our own;* that although the king was extremely happy in the friendly offers which had been made to him, he must adhere to his former resolution, namely, that the proposal should come to him directly from the king of England.

At this time, it will be recollected, that the English had not a high character for good faith on the peninsula of India; and, consequently, at the court of Kandy. A treaty of peace had been negotiated by the government of Fort St George, (Madras,) with Hyder Ali, which was not well kept by the English. Hyder Ali is said to have declared that peace with the English was indifferent to him, since they had shown themselves totally unworthy of confidence. This able man, who has been styled the Frederick of the East, died in November 1782.

Mr Boyd's embassy, although unsuccessful in negotiating a treaty of alliance with the king of Kandy, had the good effect of procuring a supply of provisions for the British troops at Trincomalee.

Sir Edward Hughes returned to Madras to refit; the garrison at Trincomalee being, in the meantime, reinforced with 200 men of the 42d regiment, who were sent from the Coromandel coast, under the convoy of two ships of war. Before Admiral Hughes was able to return to Ceylon, Admiral Suffrein dashed into Trincomalee bay, summoned the fort, and in order to procure a capitulation before the English fleet should arrive, offered the most honourable terms. The garrison surrendered on the 31st August; and on the 2d September, Admiral Hughes, having on board a new commander with a body of troops, arrived, and discovered the French colours flying in the fort. Thus the attempts of the English to attain possession of Ceylon were at this time frustrated.

By the treaty of peace concluded between the King of Kandy and the Dutch in 1766, it was stipulated that the Kandyans might obtain salt at the Dutch saltpans at prime cost; and in return, the court of Kandy agreed to permit the Dutch to cut cinnamon in the Kandyan

country, or to cause it to be cut and delivered to them at fixed prices.

In 1791, Governor Van de Graaff being informed of hostile preparations making by the Kandyans, prohibited the supply of salt for their use, thinking that, by depriving them of so essential a necessary of life, he would reduce them to the utmost distress. As a substitute for salt, it is alleged that the Kandyans had recourse to a species of potash, which proving unwholesome, they were on the point of submitting to any conditions, when the superior government of Batavia interdicted this cruel mode of conducting hostilities towards the Kandyans by Governor Van de Graaff, and recommended conciliatory measures.

Hostilities between the court of Kandy and the Dutch seemed impending during the year 1792. Indeed, the Dutch local government had made the requisite preparations to chastise the Kandyans, in consequence of the court having concluded a treaty of alliance with the French, the ultimate object being to expel the Dutch from the island. The supreme government of the Dutch in India disapproved of the commencement of hostilities, and the preparations for active warfare were suspended. About this time, it is alleged that the court of Kandy assumed a haughty tone towards the Dutch; so much so, that they hesitated to send the usual annual embassy to Kandy, to solicit permission from the king to cut cinnamon in his territories. In this dilemma, Governor Van de Graaff directed a dissave of the Dutch territory to communicate with Kandy, for the purpose of ascertaining whether, if no embassy was sent from the maritime provinces, the king would allow cinnamon to be peeled in his territories. The dissave's letter was dated on the 26th March 1793. On the 12th April following, a com-

munication was received from the court of Kandy, in which it was stated, that the peeling of cinnamon in the king's territories was usually allowed when the local government sent an ambassador to Kandy, and craved permission to do so; and that unless an accredited agent of that rank was commissioned to Kandy, no permission to cut cinnamon would be granted. The Dutch were, for various reasons, unwilling to send an ambassador to Kandy at this time. They were afraid that the king might decline complying with the request of the local government. Besides, embassies were expensive and degrading under any circumstances, but more particularly so, as the Kandyan court insisted upon the prostration ceremonies being performed by their ambassadors. No embassy was sent to Kandy on this occasion, nor was any answer returned to the king's letter of the 12th April. The governor was well aware that the Kandyan court ardently desired to possess a port or two on the coast, and that nothing less would satisfy it.*

In 1794, the French general, Pichegru, conquered Holland, being favoured by the popular or anti-Orange party, and the Stadtholder with his family were obliged to take refuge in England. The United Provinces were forthwith organised, under the title of the Batavian Republic. War with England soon followed, which led to the capture of the Dutch fleets, and the loss of their colonies. Ceylon fell very early into the hands of the English. It is alleged that a letter was despatched from England to Ceylon, from the fugitive Stadtholder to Governor Van Angelbeck, the governor of the maritime provinces, recommending him to surrender the garrisons

* Memorial by Governor Van de Graaff to his successor, Governor Van Angelbeck, dated 15th July 1794.

and forts in possession of the Dutch to an English force, when it should appear on the coast in sufficient strength to take possession of them; and it was generally believed that the governor was favourably disposed towards the interests of the Stadtholder, for whom the island was to be held by the English.

On the 1st August 1795, a body of troops, consisting of the 72d regiment, the flank companies of the 71st and 73d regiments, two battalions of Sepoys, and a detachment of artillery and pioneers, under the command of Colonel Stewart, arrived at Trincomalee, for the purpose of taking possession of the territories of the Dutch in Ceylon. The troops were landed at about the distance of two miles from Fort Frederick. As the garrison refused to surrender, it became necessary to prepare to besiege the fort in due form. Accordingly, the troops broke ground on the evening of the 18th, opened the batteries on the 23d, and by 12 o'clock on the 26th, a practicable breach had been completed. The garrison was then summoned to surrender, but the terms demanded being deemed inadmissible, the firing recommenced, and in a few minutes the white flag was displayed, the conditions offered having been accepted. During the siege, a party of Malay soldiers, armed with *kreeses*, crept out of the garrison, nearly in a state of nudity, under the obscurity of night, and advancing like snakes along the ground, got behind the batteries unobserved, and having killed or wounded nearly every person on duty in the trenches, spiked the guns, and effected their retreat into the fort. The total number *killed* during the siege was fifteen; six officers and fifty men were wounded.

Fort Ostenburgh, a post about three miles from Fort Frederick, capitulated on the 31st August.

On the 12th February 1796, Colonel Stewart landed a body of troops from a fleet which was at anchor off Negombo, and marched towards Colombo. The passage of the Mutwal river (Kalani Ganga) was disputed by a corps of Malays, but they were repulsed with little loss on our side. Colombo made no resistance, and capitulated on the 15th. Thus fell, ingloriously, the Dutch power in Ceylon.

Previously to the arrival of the British troops on the west coast of Ceylon, the garrison of Colombo had been considerably weakened by the loss of the Swiss regiment of De Meuron, a corps of mercenaries which had; for a long time, composed part of it. The term of its agreement with the Dutch having expired, and Colonel de Meuron having transferred its services to our government in India, the military force on the island was, consequently, so far reduced; but the chief cause of the hasty surrender of Colombo is alleged to have been a mutinous spirit which prevailed among the Dutch troops. The state of total insubordination of the garrison, the violence of a Jacobin party, and the fear of an internal massacre, induced the governor to enter with promptitude into a treaty with the English.

The King of Kandy, Rajadhi Rajah Singha, who rendered some assistance to the English, in the expulsion of the Dutch, expected to derive considerable advantages from the accomplishment of that event. It is probable that he entertained hopes of obtaining a seaport at least, if not some restoration of territory. These hopes were, however, visionary, and he soon found that he had only exchanged a weak for a powerful neighbour; and in the East a neighbour is usually considered an enemy. All political and territorial relations between the British and Kandyan governments

remained on the same footing as they had been under the Dutch.

The cinnamon found in the store-houses was sold by the British troops employed in the reduction of Colombo, to the East India Company for L.180,000.

The administration of the honourable the Governor in Council at Madras commenced 16th February 1796.

The dominion of the Portuguese in Ceylon lasted about 150 years, and that of the Dutch for nearly the same period. The conquest of Ceylon by the Dutch was, in a great measure, owing to the hatred which had been excited by the bigotry, intolerance, and cruelty of the Portuguese; and although the Dutch were as deficient as their predecessors in the virtues of justice and humanity, their tyranny was not, like that of the Portuguese, influenced by the desire to propagate an exclusive faith; it was not, however, less oppressive. "The insensate avarice of the Dutch," says Philalethes, "proved as unfavourable to the happiness of the people of Ceylon as the enthusiastic bigotry of the Portuguese." Although it is alleged that the Portuguese, when they were expelled from the island, had degenerated from the vigorous, daring, and enterprising intrepidity of their ancestors, they made a noble resistance to their enemy; but the contemptible imbecility and unresisting cowardice with which the Dutch suffered this important settlement to be wrested from them by the British, have rarely been paralleled in modern warfare.

The Dutch settlements were, in the first instance, held in trust for the Stadtholder, to whose cause a large portion of the inhabitants were attached. Ceylon became, for a time, an appendage to the Presidency of Madras, and the civil administration of the maritime provinces of the island was provisionally placed under a commis-

sioner sent from that establishment, who endeavoured to introduce the same regulations and system of collecting the public revenues which were in force on the coast of Coromandel. For this purpose, a number of the natives of the peninsula of India were brought to Ceylon, to fill the subordinate situations under government. An annual tax of one fanan (1½d.) was, at the same time, imposed upon the produce of coco-nut and other fruit-bearing trees. The inequality with which this tax weighed upon the proprietors, from the great scarcity of money, became insupportable, and, in a representation made to government, they offered to pay in kind a certain proportion of the fruit of every tree. This proposal was refused, and an insurrection followed. The revolt which broke out on this occasion finally determined government to abandon the tax altogether.

In 1798, the maritime provinces of the island were transferred to the crown of England, and the Honourable Frederick North was appointed to administer the government. Under the control of the Governor in Council of the Madras Presidency, Mr North assumed the government on the 12th October 1798.

At the peace of Amiens, (1801,) Ceylon was transferred from the superintendence of the East India Company to the immediate control of his Majesty's minister for the Colonial department, a change which dates from the 1st day of January 1802.

About the middle of the year 1798, Rajadhi Rajah Singha, the king of Kandy, died without issue, and without having nominated a successor. According to the usage of the Kandyan court, the right of naming a successor in such cases belonged to the first adikar, an office which was at that time filled by Pilimi Talawa, an able, ambitious, and intriguing chief. The person

chosen by this minister was a Nayakara, 18 years of age, by name Kannesamy, the son of a sister of one of the queens-dowager. According to usage, he was proposed to the chiefs and people, and their acceptance was in due form acknowledged. He was raised to the throne by the name of Sri Wickreme Rajah Singha.

Not long after his inauguration, Mootoo Sawmy, a brother to one of the queens-dowager, and an aspirant to the throne of Kandy, left the interior of the island, and, having solicited an asylum in the maritime provinces, was placed under the superintendence and protection of Colonel Barbut, commandant of the garrison of Jaffnapatam.

Pilimi Talawa, first adikar, the Kandyan prime minister, for a considerable time retained an influence over the young king, and, as is alleged, induced him to sanction several acts of cruelty and oppression, for the ultimate end of promoting his own ambitious and traitorous purposes.

The objects of the adikar were, as has been briefly, but comprehensively, stated by Major Forbes, "to get rid of his enemies, amongst whom he reckoned all who could resist or interfere with his schemes of ambition, and to allow the odium of murders committed by his direction to fall on the young man on whose head he had placed a crown, which he intended to transfer to his own brows: this result he expected to accomplish either by the open assistance of the British government, or by secret treason and the assassination of the king."

In February 1799, Mr North had an interview with the chief adikar at Avisahavilé, the latter having declined coming to Colombo, through fear of the small-pox. During this interview, the adikar complained of the king's countrymen, (the Malabars,) representing them

as instruments calculated to subvert his influence, and that of the native chiefs at the court of Kandy. The purpose of the adikar at this conference was obviously to sound the governor preparatory to fully developing his perfidious and ambitious project of attaining supreme power at the expense of the king.*

A second interview between Mr North and the adikar took place in December 1799, when the latter opened the discussion by complaining of the king, on account of his having given his confidence to the Malabars, and he then explicitly stated his wish, that the English would take possession of the Kandyan country in the name of his Britannic Majesty, and place him, the adikar, at the head of the government. Cordiner asserts, that the adikar "*made a direct request to the governor, at this interview, to assist him in taking away the life of the king, and placing himself on the throne, on which conditions he would make the English masters of the country.*"

In subsequent conversations with various persons employed on the part of the British government, the adikar used every possible argument to incline them to adopt his favourite scheme, and to place him on the throne of Kandy. During the month of January 1800, Mr Boyd, the acting secretary to government, held a conference with the adikar, who declared that he had an unconquerable hatred to the royal race of Malabars, whom he considered the oppressors of his country; that he had raised Kannesamy, an ignorant and obscure youth, to the throne, in order that he, the adikar, might, by his influence over the king's conduct, render the unhappy young man, whom he had elevated to the throne, detest-

* Cordiner, vol. ii. p. 160.

able in the eyes of the people, and thereby promote a revolution, which would end in an extermination of the foreign family, and the establishment of a Kandyan race of monarchs commencing with himself. Mr Boyd then distinctly related to the adikar the tenor of his Excellency's instructions, namely, that the governor was sincerely desirous of the continuance of his (the adikar's) power, and would secure it to him, provided the King of Kandy could be induced to place himself and his country under the protection of Great Britain, and to admit an English garrison into his capital; but that he would not permit a single soldier to enter the Kandyan territory, or give him, the adikar, any assistance whatsoever, unless the king's person, and the continuance of his dignity, were stipulated as a preliminary to any agreement to be made, and his express consent were obtained to the outline of any permanent arrangements for the future connection between the two governments: that it was the governor's wish that his Kandyan majesty should voluntarily remain at Kandy, under the safeguard of an English garrison, and that the adikar should continue to exercise the sovereign authority in his name. The adikar seemed to be surprised that his Excellency should profess so much anxiety to support the king, and said it was not he (the king) who wished British troops to be sent to Kandy. He also stated that the king was not a friend to the English, and very significantly asked how his Excellency would act, were the Kandyans to attack the English? A part of his Excellency's instructions, which related to sending an embassy to Kandy under the charge of General Macdowal, was then mentioned to the adikar. He paused a little, and then observed, that the governor

might send a strong escort with the general. After some expressions of regret that things must remain as they were, the conference ended.

On the 21st January 1800, another interview took place between Mr North and the adikar, when the latter urged the necessity of deposing the king; but his Excellency refused to be accessory to the deposition of a prince whom he had officially recognised, and from whom he had not received any cause of offence. The adikar then asked how he (the adikar) and the king could be in power at the same time? Mr North conceived that, under existing circumstances, the best way would be for the adikar to use his influence with the king to make a requisition for troops to defend him against his enemies, (but what enemies is not stated,) with which the governor would instantly comply. The governor then informed the adikar that he had it in contemplation to communicate to the King of Kandy his intention to send General Macdowal, as British ambassador, to Kandy. He also stated, that he hoped the general might be able to form such treaties as would be conducive to the advantage of both countries. "Why," said the adikar, "cannot a treaty be made at Sitawaka?" the place where the interview was held. To which question the governor replied, that nothing would give him greater satisfaction, provided he, the adikar, had full power from the king to enter upon an undertaking of that kind. The adikar admitted that he had no such authority.

The alleged object in sending an ambassador to the court of Kandy, at this time, was, according to Cordiner, "*to elude the arts of the adikar;*" but Mr North's cunning was not equal to the craft of the adikar. Decency forbade his openly harbouring the design of the adikar

to take away the life of the sovereign, but interest urged him to promote a similar one in a more secret manner, and by an apparently honourable line of conduct. This fully appears from the instructions with which General Macdowal was deputed to the Kandyan court. "In order to elude the arts of the adikar," says the Rev. Mr Cordiner, "the governor promised that Major-General Macdowal should be sent as an ambassador, if the consent of the king were previously obtained to his carrying with him a sufficient military force to maintain his independence. *It was at the same time proposed, that if the king should approve of it, he should transport his person and court, for greater safety, to the British territories, there to enjoy all his royal rights, and to depute to Pilimi Talawa, the adikar, the exercise of his power in Kandy.*" All this was proposed "to elude the arts of the adikar"! —(*Knighton*, p. 310.)

On February 1, 1800, Mr Boyd had a long conference with the adikar. At this interview, a great obstacle was presumed to have been got over; the adikar having alleged that he renounced any homicidal attempt on the king's person and dignity. He represented, however, that all the functions of government should be committed to himself, through the influence of a British army at Kandy, and wished the troops for that purpose to be sent up immediately, with General Macdowal as ambassador. He described the king as being inimical to the English; and certainly, considering the underhand countenance Mr North had given to Pilimi Talawa's treacherous designs, he had no reason to think highly of his Excellency's international policy, or to have much confidence in his professions of friendly relations between the two powers. The adikar now seemed desirous that General Macdowal should proceed to Kandy with a

body of troops, that the points in question might be arranged on the spot. Mr Boyd replied, that he could promise nothing about troops without the king's consent, which was an essential part of the business.

At a subsequent interview, a letter intended for the King of Kandy was shown to the adikar, which, with some alterations, he approved of. He then entered into a discussion regarding the remuneration to be made to the English for taking the kingdom under their protection. They were to have at their disposal the revenues of the country, chiefly consisting of rice, areca-nut, and pepper, with full power to cut wood, and to collect cinnamon wherever they chose. He proposed to return to Kandy in order to meet the general, unless his presence should be required at court. He asked who would command the troops after the departure of the general, and was answered, probably Colonel Champagne, of whom he approved. From the tenor of this question, he appears to have expected that the ambassador's escort would take military possession of Kandy, and the answer was calculated to excite a belief that the governor intended to carry such a measure into effect.

At another conference, the letter to the king was written and despatched. It notified the intention of sending the proposed embassy, accompanied by a military escort. An answer was received, signed by the first adikar, but with the royal seal affixed. This was considered insufficient, Mr Boyd having insisted that the king's consent should be obtained by means of his own signature. The adikar agreed to this, and then read over the treaty, and made some alterations. It was proposed that the sum to be received by the English should be two lacs of pagodas, but the adikar said he could not be answerable for nearly so large a sum.

Various topics concerning the treaty were then discussed; but Mr Boyd thought he perceived, during this conference, that the adikar had not abandoned his long-cherished project of seating himself on the throne by the deposition of the unhappy youth whom, for his own purposes, he had selected for that high station.

On March 4th, another interview between Mr Boyd and the adikar took place, when the latter threw out many hints which clearly proved that he was not acting with sincerity in regard to the treaty, but that he was still labouring to assign reasons for effecting the deposition of the king, whom he had repeatedly declared he had placed on the throne in a time of trouble, with the determination hereafter to dethrone, and to take his place. Mr Boyd let him know that he perceived his drift. The adikar then, as on a former occasion, inquired what would be considered a sufficient aggression to cause us to take arms against the king? and went so far as to ask whether an irruption of 3000 men into the English territories would suffice? It was replied, that such an irruption would be considered as provocation enough; but, it was added, that should an inroad take place, he himself would be regarded as the person who instigated hostilities, and could not, for one moment, look up to the British government for support or protection.

March 5th, the adikar refused, on trifling excuses, to sign a fair copy of the treaty which he had approved. Mr Boyd asked if he would give him a positive assurance, and for which he would be responsible, that the general, on his arrival, would find the king at Kandy. To this question the adikar did not give a satisfactory reply, although it was repeated to him four times.

March 6th, Mr Boyd informed the adikar that the governor had resolved to send forward the embassy with the troops, considering the king's permission as having been given through him. He added, that the governor relied upon him that he would act cordially and sincerely in getting the treaty settled at Kandy, after the manner it had been concerted. The adikar said, the governor might rely on his doing so, and promised, out of respect to the ambassador, to meet him in person, and cause other men of rank to pay due respect to him.

In the preceding account of the several conferences held with the adikar, that minister's policy is made apparent. It is obvious that he placed Kannesamy on the throne for a temporary purpose, to further his own designs, his object being to get rid of him by assassination, or by any other means, and to seize the vacant throne for himself. For this purpose, he did not scruple to propose rendering the crown of Kandy tributary to the English, trusting to events for freeing him from their dominion, when their arms were no longer necessary for his protection; and Mr North appears to have participated in many of his perfidious schemes. He also very explicitly disclosed his plan for involving the king in hostilities with the English, by means of a proposed aggression on the part of the Kandyans, presuming that the governor would make hostilities a pretext for abandoning the king, notwithstanding his professed adherence to his interest, and thereby effect his deposition. His anticipations were, in some respects, well founded; for the governor did certainly commence hostilities and abandon the king, and placed Mootoo Sawmy on the throne of Kandy, as will be noticed hereafter. It is not for me to give an opinion how far it was consistent with the international usages of civilized states, for Mr North

to intrigue with the prime minister and the avowed intended assassin of the King of Kandy, for the purpose of virtually, if not actually, rendering the throne vacant, while the two powers were at peace. The governor, in apparently adopting the interests of Pilimi Talawa, had, no doubt, for his ultimate object the establishing a military force in Kandy; well knowing that, in such cases, protection is very nearly synonymous with supercession.

These details respecting the negotiations of the adikar and Mr North have been derived from the publications of the Rev. Mr Cordiner and Lord Valentia, both of whom, it is believed, obtained their information from Mr North himself, or, with his sanction, from the public officers under government.

The Rev. James Cordiner belonged to the Episcopal Church of Scotland, and about the end of last century went to Madras to superintend a school. He was subsequently appointed by Mr North to the situation of chaplain to the garrison of Colombo. His appointment not having been confirmed by the government at home, he returned to Scotland in 1805 or 1806; and in 1807 he published his work on Ceylon, in 2 vols. 4to. Mr Cordiner became the colleague of a Mr Alcock, in an Episcopal chapel in Aberdeen, and died about the year 1830.

Lord Valentia travelled in the East from 1802 till 1806; and in 1809 published his Narrative, in 3 vols. 4to. He arrived in Ceylon on the 22d December 1803, and resided with Mr North, then governor, for about three weeks. His work contains some interesting facts and documents regarding Ceylon.

The undue influence of native ministers has been a fertile source of evil to the population of the native states of India; and our government has been accused of un-

dermining the authority of sovereigns, by clandestinely supporting disloyal ministers. It is obvious that Mr North was zealously following this plan with the adikar and the King of Kandy.

On the 12th March, the proposed embassy of General Macdowal set out from Colombo, more like a military expedition than a friendly deputation. The escort consisted of 1164 men, Europeans and natives of India; but only two companies of Sepoys, and two companies of Malays, were allowed by the Kandyan government to proceed beyond Ruangwelle, the boundary of the Kandyan country. The adikar met the embassy in state, and kept his promise of presenting General Macdowal to the king; but when the articles of the treaty came to be discussed, they were not acceded to by the Kandyan court. The third article, which was as follows, must have been peculiarly objectionable to the king and his councillors:—

"ARTICLE III.—In order to secure the honour and safety of his Kandyan majesty and his successors, his Excellency the Governor of the British possessions in Ceylon shall send immediately into his majesty's territories a detachment of seven or eight hundred men, which force may hereafter be increased as occasion may require; and as the troops are to be employed for the purpose of securing the king on his throne, and defending him against all his enemies, foreign and domestic, his Kandyan majesty agrees to defray the expense of four hundred men, with a proportion of officers of the said force; that is to say, &c., &c. * * * * * * The troops which are stationed in his majesty's dominions shall only be considered as the

> defenders of him and his successors, and to support and maintain them in all their rights and prerogatives."

Cordiner has given a very different account of this important article. His version is as follows:—

> "III.
>
> "In order to ensure the safety of his Kandyan majesty's throne, the governor of the British settlements promises to send troops into the Kandyan dominions whenever they may be deemed necessary to attain that object; and the King of Kandy agrees to defray the expense of the troops so employed."

Although Mr North's treaty was not accepted, the king did not reject "all relations of amity" with our government, for the Kandyan court lost no time in proposing a treaty, consisting of eight articles, (ours consisted of nine,) which General Macdowal considered inadmissible. The sixth article of the draft of a treaty, submitted to the ambassador by the Kandyan court, contained, in all probability, the most objectionable proposition:—

> "ARTICLE VI.—The King of Kandy shall be permitted to have ten ships or donies, as he shall think fit, which shall be allowed to sail from, and return to, the English ports, with such merchandise as is thought proper; and these vessels are neither to be examined, nor to pay any duty whatsoever."

To render the full import of this article obvious, it is only necessary to state, that whatever produce the Kan-

dyans exported or imported passed through our custom-house. Areca-nuts, the principal article of Kandyan export, was charged 75 per cent.; and the tax on salt charged by the English government was from 800 to 1000 per cent. above the cost of its production. Ceylon abounds with salt; everywhere along the coasts extensive formations of it are found, more particularly in the neighbourhood of Hambantote, where it crystallizes spontaneously, in "leeways," or shallow lakes near the sea.

Cordiner informs us that General Macdowal was instructed to propose to the king, "should he approve of it, to transport his person and his court, for greater safety, into the British territories, there to enjoy all his royal rights, and to depute to Pilimi Talawa, the adikar, the exercise of his power in Kandy; also, that a British subsidiary force should be maintained there, at the expense of the Kandyan government. The ambassador was, at the same time, not to consent to any force or threats being used against the king." The general, it may be presumed, had not sufficient effrontery to suggest such a proposal. From this detail of Ceylon diplomacy, it may be inferred that the King of Kandy had "fallen among thieves," who would have stripped him of his kingdom; but, fortunately for him, their objects were discordant, and they had no well-founded confidence in the good faith of each other.

During a period of two years, various overtures were made by Mr North to the Kandyan court, for agreeing upon terms of alliance, and from the Kandyan court to Mr North, but without effecting any beneficial result.

On 3d February 1802, an embassy from the King of Kandy arrived at Colombo, with the second adikar, who was the first adikar's nephew. In a secret conference

with Mr North, he attempted to renew the propositions formerly made by his uncle Pilimi Talawa, regarding the dethroning of the king, &c., &c., but the governor declined hearing him on these topics. The embassy then demanded the cession of three small islands, which had been granted by the Dutch treaty in 1766, with the right of employing ten vessels in a free commerce. The governor treated this demand as wholly inadmissible, and as it was made an essential preliminary to a new treaty, an end was put to the discussion. The deputies expressed a wish that another embassy might be sent to Kandy, which was refused.

Pilimi Talawa having apparently become convinced that he must adopt another plan to forward his ambitious and treacherous designs, determined upon commencing his long-meditated expedient of promoting hostilities, by aggression on the part of the Kandyans. Accordingly, bodies of armed men soon appeared on the frontiers of the British territories; and in the month of April 1802, some inhabitants of Putlam, subjects of the King of Great Britain, being upon a trading journey in the Kandyan country, were forcibly despoiled of a quantity of areca-nuts, together with their cattle, by a person in authority at Kakanacoolly, and many circumstances combined to show that the first adikar had been the author of this act of outrage, which, independently of the booty, valued by one authority at L.300, and by another at L.1000, might promote his immediate object —war between the two powers. It was satisfactorily proved that one of the confidential agents of the adikar conveyed the areca-nuts to Ruangwelle, and sold them there to some traders from Colombo. Reparation was repeatedly demanded, on the part of the local government, from the court of Kandy; but as the representa-

tions of Mr North were all probably conveyed through the adikar, the king may have never heard of his Excellency's claims for that purpose.

Under these circumstances, our government determined to march an army to Kandy, for the alleged purpose of enforcing a claim to full indemnification for the loss incurred by the Putlam merchants, and to exact sufficient security against similar acts of violence.

There being no satisfactory evidence that the king was a party to the robbery of the Putlam merchants, it is not obvious that he should have been held immediately and personally responsible for the unofficial acts of his villanous minister, whose treason we had, to a certain degree, countenanced. The local government should, perhaps, in the first instance, have demanded the punishment of the adikar, but Mr North seems to have had, through the whole course of his intriguing policy, a leaning in favour of Pilimi Talawa. He could, however, have had no real good will to the adikar, for, except on one point, there was no unity of object between them. They both wished to depose the king, but each wished to possess exclusively his territory.

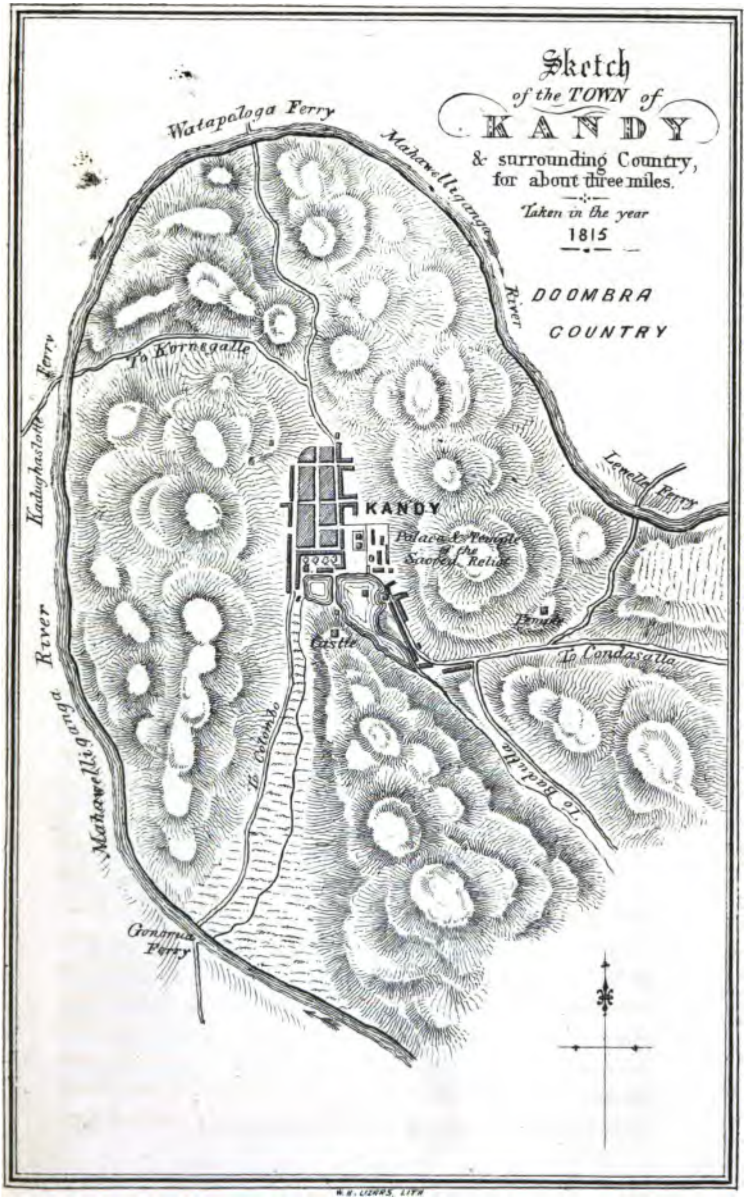
The troops destined for the invasion of the Kandyan country were formed into two divisions—the first, or Colombo division, marched on the 31st of January 1803, more like a pleasure party on a large scale, than an invading army, under the command of Major-General Macdowal;* and

* The division under the command of General Macdowal consisted of two incomplete companies of the Bengal Artillery, with the usual proportion of gun lascars; two companies of the 19th regiment; the 51st regiment, (625 strong;) the Ceylon Native Infantry, afterwards 2d Ceylon regiment, 1000 men; one company of Malays; and a corps of pioneers. The division under Colonel Barbut consisted of one company of the Madras Artillery; five companies of the 19th regiment; the greater part of the Malay regiment; and a necessary portion of lascars and pioneers.

the second left Trincomalee, under the command of Colonel Barbut, on the 4th February. Neither of the divisions met with any serious resistance on their march, and they both reached the Maha Villa Ganga, three miles from the town of Kandy, on the 20th of February. The Colombo division had performed, according to Cordiner, a march of 103 miles; and that from Trincomalee, 142. The strength of the two divisions amounted to about 3000 men.

On the following morning, 21st February, some of the troops crossed the Maha Villa Ganga, and occupied the town of Kandy, which was found totally deserted by its inhabitants. The head-quarters of the 19th and 51st regiments also marched into Kandy on the 24th and 25th of the same month.

Prince Mootoo Sawmy having "demonstrated his claims to the throne," to the alleged satisfaction of Mr North, his Excellency deemed it expedient to have him brought from Minnery, whither he had accompanied Colonel Barbut, to Kandy, and there formally crowned king. He was accordingly conveyed to Kandy by a large detachment of British troops, and crowned on the 8th March with all the forms of Eastern ceremonial. Mootoo Sawmy and Kannesamy were each eligible to be chosen King of Kandy, inasmuch as they were both of royal lineage, but neither of them had any peculiar claim to the throne by relationship to the late king. Kannesamy, it will be recollected, had been regularly proposed by the adikar, and elected by the chiefs, in compliance with the customs of the country; and I may likewise state, that Mr North had not only recognised him as King of Kandy, but, as we have already seen, commissioned an ambassador, Major-General Macdowal, to his court. Mr North had also repeatedly pledged him-



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self not to abandon his interests. The governor was, no doubt, sufficiently well aware that the aggression on the part of the Kandyans was a deliberate and long-meditated measure of the adikar, obviously undertaken for the purpose of leading to a deposition of the king, and his assumption of the throne; and these details will show that the adikar's object was rather promoted than discouraged by the clandestine intrigues which had taken place between him and his Excellency, Mr North.

No sooner had Mootoo Sawmy been crowned king, than articles of convention were entered into between his highness and the governor of the British settlements in Ceylon, in which great concessions were made to the English. One of the clauses of the convention provided, that the new king was to receive an auxiliary force from the British settlements, intervention being a common precursor of subjugation, an object at which Mr North had long aimed. (Appendix II.)

"In this manner," says Mr Cordiner, "arrangements were made *with the most sincere cordiality* between the British government and Mootoo Sawmy"—dividing the Kandyan territory without having subdued the reigning king! Meantime, the new king met with no adherents, and he remained in the palace without any court but his own domestics, and supported by no other power but the British government.*

The policy of Pilimi Talawa, in opposition to Mr North, was crafty and successful. By artful representations, he encouraged the English to attempt exhausting and fruitless hostile expeditions, obviously for the purpose of gaining time, and placing both parties entirely in his power. He had the effrontery to carry on a cor-

* Cordiner, vol. ii. p. 188.

respondence, under the mask of friendship, with the commander of the British forces, who was sufficiently credulous to become his dupe. In this correspondence he endeavoured to cajole our government, which, being very easy of belief, fell into the snare placed for it by the adikar. He urged us to make an attempt to capture the fugitive king, who was at this time at Hangaranketty, a post about two days' march (18 miles) from Kandy. The adikar explained to General Macdowal the nature of the post, pointed out the line of march by which it would be easy to gain access to it, mentioned the resistance which might be expected, and requested that two strong detachments might be sent by different routes, so that they might arrive simultaneously at the palace of Hangaranketty, promising that he would assist in delivering his sovereign into our hands.

Accordingly, two detachments, one amounting to about 500 men, under the command of Colonel Baillie, and another to 300, marched, on the morning of the 13th March, by different routes. The country between Kandy and Haugaranketty is excessively strong by nature, and great pains had been taken to strengthen it still more by art. Batteries were erected on every eminence which commanded the paths through which our soldiers were to pass, and marksmen were placed in ambush in the thickest coverts of the jungle, and wherever they could do us most injury. The detachments reached the place of their destination on the evening of the 14th, by which time the king had made his escape. On the 15th, the troops having burned the palace to the ground, commenced their return to Kandy, and met with the same opposition they had experienced in their advance. The loss incurred by killed and wounded in this expedition was considerable ; and there

can be no doubt that the measure was planned and carried into execution, for our destruction, by the adikar. Nineteen coollies were killed, and a great many wounded.

In the meantime, the Kandyans hovered round our outposts in the neighbourhood of the capital. Concealed in the woods and thickets, they fired upon the guards and sentries during the night; and whenever any unfortunate stragglers fell into their hands, they put them to death. They knew their own weakness too well to emerge from their hiding-places during the day, or near to any considerable body of troops. A reward of ten rupees was given for the head of every European, and five for that of every other class of soldiers in the English service.

Another communication was made by the adikar to the governor, which led to a conference between the second adikar and General Macdowal, on the 28th of March. At this conference, it was agreed that the fugitive king (when he was captured, it may be presumed) should be delivered over to the British government; that Pilimi Talawa should be invested with supreme authority in Kandy, under the title of *Ootoon Komarayen*, the Great Prince, and that he should pay an annuity of 30,000 rupees to Mootoo Sawmy, who would hold his court at Jaffnapatam; that Fort Macdowal, with the surrounding district, the road to Trincomalee, and the province of the Seven Corles, should be ceded to his Britannic Majesty; and that a *cessation of arms* should immediately take place between the contracting powers. (Appendix III.) On the faith of the fulfilment of this treaty, made, it will be recollected, with an avowed traitor and minister of the king, General Macdowal left Kandy for Colombo on the 1st April, taking with him the 51st regiment, the Ceylon Native Infantry, 1000 strong, and a detachment of Bengal Artillery. At the same time,

part of the 19th and Malay regiments marched from Kandy for Trincomalee.

"The garrison left in Kandy consisted of 700 Malays, and 300 Europeans of the 19th regiment, and Bengal and Madras Artillery, besides a considerable number of sick."—(*Cordiner*, vol. ii. p. 197.) Had General Macdowal been acquainted with the history of Kandyan warfare, and the noble resistance which the inhabitants of the hills had repeatedly made to European invaders, he would not have considered so small a force adequate for retaining possession of the interior of the island. From the moment he left Kandy with the bulk of the troops, the small garrison was doomed to destruction. How could Mr North, or General Macdowal, expect that Pilimi Talawa, who was faithful neither to his king nor to his country, would be faithful to a foreign invader, more especially as they ought to have been aware of his ultimate object? "Our whole army," says Major Beaver, "being ill, the safety of the garrison of the capital depended upon the honour and good faith of the adikar." No commandant, however talented he might be, could have averted the event which followed. The immediate object of the adikar, in as far as the English were concerned, was to gain time; his policy towards the king, we may suppose, had no very loyal tendency.

How are we to account for these changes of policy of Mr North? Early in March, Mootoo Sawmy was crowned King of Kandy by the English, and articles of convention were arranged with him, by which he was to receive an auxiliary military force from the British settlements. Yet, on the 29th of the same month, the above extraordinary compact was concluded between General Macdowal and Pilimi Talawa. "Mootoo Sawmy," as has

been observed by Major Forbes, "was proclaimed King of Kandy by the British; they brought him to the capital; they saluted him as king; they offered to support him with a military force; yet but a very few days after this, without any fault on his, or misfortune on their part, they deliberately conclude, and afterwards ratify, a treaty, by which he was to become a pensioner on one they knew to be a villain, ready to commit the worst of crimes, yet whom they were about to raise to supreme authority over the Kandyans." Mootoo Sawmy had obviously much reason to complain of the want of good faith in his Excellency the governor.

It is very possible that Mr North soon regretted the measure of elevating Prince Mootoo Sawmy to the throne of Kandy, notwithstanding his "character for humanity and politeness, as well as discretion and dignity." The prince, it is alleged, persuaded his Excellency that he possessed the warm attachment of the different ranks of Kandyans, and that they would flock to his standard, but not a single man joined him. Mootoo Sawmy, it seems, had not a very reputable character in Kandy.*

Our embassies and negotiations with Kandy, from 1798 to 1803, were not calculated to raise the British government in the estimation of the king, nor even in the opinion of the adikar, in whose favour we had evinced so remarkable a degree of facility and vacillation; but to what extent of degradation will ambition not submit?

The troops accomplished their respective marches to Colombo and to Trincomalee, having met with no opposition. On the 15th April, Captain Madge, 19th regiment, marched from Kandy for Fort Macdowal, a post about 16 miles on the road to Trincomalee, with

* Lord Valentia, vol. i. 298.

55 rank and file of the 19th regiment. About this time a letter was received at Colombo from the first adikar, requesting an interview with the governor, for the alleged purpose of arranging a definitive treaty. Anxious to obtain possession of the country apparently by any means, whether by the treason of the adikar or by force of arms, Mr North set out for Dambadiniya, in the Kandyan territory, on the 28th April, where he arrived on the 1st of May. On the 3d of the same month, he was waited upon by Pilimi Talawa, with whom he held a long conference; and when the contracting parties, namely, Mr North and the avowed traitor minister of the King of Kandy, fully agreed to the terms of the singular treaty which had been drawn up in Kandy by General Macdowal and the second adikar on the 28th March.

Mr Arbuthnot, the chief secretary to government, returned the visit of Pilimi Talawa the next day, and tendered to him three copies of the convention, which he signed and sealed. At this time, Colonel Barbut undertook to obtain Prince Mootoo Sawmy's acquiescence in the terms of the convention, when he reached Kandy; but another fate awaited both parties, they never met again. The Colonel was attacked with fever at Dambadiniya, on the 4th May, and was sent to Colombo, where he died on the 21st. Prince Mootoo Sawmy, as we shall see, was put to death on the 27th June.

By this treaty, the policy of any commandant of Kandy must have been fettered, and the most judicious measures for the welfare of the troops, and the defence of the garrison, rendered nugatory; and to it may be attributed the melancholy catastrophe which followed.

It was subsequently ascertained, that the real object

of the adikar, in soliciting an interview with Mr North at Dambadiniya, was for the purpose of taking him prisoner; and it appears that he was deterred from the attempt by the strength of his Excellency's escort, which had been greatly augmented by the unexpected arrival of a detachment of Malays, under the command of Colonel Barbut, who had proceeded to the Seven Corles to pay his respects to the governor.

On the death of Colonel Barbut, the command of the garrison of Kandy, henceforth a forlorn hope, devolved upon Major Davie.

At the urgent request of the adikar, General Macdowal was again sent to Kandy, which place he reached on the 23d May. The adikar did not, however, repair to Kandy, as he had promised, to meet the general, but wrote to him, on the 2d June, that he could not wait upon him without the permission of the king. It would be highly interesting to know what representations the adikar made to the king respecting the English, from the time he solicited Mr North's assistance to assassinate him, and what opinion each entertained respecting his policy.

Mr North, trusting, apparently, with pertinacious blindness, but with implicit confidence, in the honour and honesty of his perfidious confederate, Pilimi Talawa, adopted no adequate means to reinforce the sickly and not trust-worthy garrison of Kandy, to supply the troops with provisions, and to keep up a communication with Colombo and the interior.

About this time, frequent supplies, both from Colombo and Trincomalee, intended for the troops in Kandy, were taken by the Kandyans, and many of the coollies who were carrying the stores were put to death. The garrison of Kandy was greatly reduced by death, both of

officers and men ; and almost all the European soldiers were confined to the hospital. Owing to the violent rains which accompany the setting in of the south-west monsoon, which takes place early in May, and the consequent swelling of the rivers, which inundated the low country, any communication between Kandy and Colombo became extremely difficult.

General Macdowal left Kandy on the 11th June, and did not reach Colombo until the 19th.

Kandy was now virtually in a state of blockade, and the unhappy fate of the garrison was fast approaching. The Kandyans began to advance very near to the capital, and eventually entrenched themselves in strong positions ; attempts being made, at the same time, to seduce the Malay soldiers from their allegiance, and in too many instances with success. On the 9th June, eight Malays, and the same number of Madras Lascars, went over to the enemy, and very few European soldiers were fit for duty in the garrison. At this time, the dissave Leuke announced to our government, through a confidential agent, that the first adikar was a "perfidious villain, who deceived the whole world, and that the second adikar had quarrelled with him." Mr North was as well aware as the dissave Leuke that the adikar was a villain, but at this time he was presumed to be our ally, and apparently trusted as a friend.

On the 13th June, Major Davie received a letter from the adikar, telling him that he was in disgrace with the king, owing to his endeavours to serve the English, and requesting him to undertake another expedition to Hangaranketty. The adikar, trusting so confidently in the credulity of Mr North, seems to have considered himself warranted in making any proposal, however absurd, to the English. The object of the adikar was

obviously incompatible with that of Mr North, or with his duty to the king; and, consequently, he could not be expected to be sincere in his professions of attachment to either party. It was not the intention of Pilimi Talawa to exert his influence to transfer the Kandyan country permanently to the English, his plan being to render himself the sovereign, under the pretence that he would hold it subject to a nominal control of the English. In the present instance, Major Davie did not become the dupe of the adikar.

By the 20th June, many of the Malays had deserted. The Europeans were dying at the rate of six men a-day. Paddy (rice in the husk) was almost the only article which remained for the subsistence of the troops, and, in their sickly state, they were unable to perform the labour of clearing it of the husk. Warlike preparations were, at the same time, in progress by the Kandyans in different quarters, but Major Davie was ignorant whether those threatened hostilities were intended as an infraction of the treaty signed by the adikar, or whether their object was to forward its execution. Prince Mootoo Sawmy trembled at his situation, and would have been glad to renounce his pretensions to the throne of Kandy, that he might reach his old station at Jaffnapatam.

Mr North, it is alleged, at length contemplated the expediency of withdrawing the troops from the Kandyan country; but the requisite number of coollies could not be procured, and nothing effectual was done for that purpose. Major Davie was thus left to struggle with insurmountable difficulties; his position being an open town, surrounded by wooded hills; a feeble, sickly garrison, part of which was of very doubtful fidelity, without provisions, or the means of procuring a supply; cut off from all communication with the maritime provinces;

surrounded by a vigilant enemy; and, as may be presumed, in great doubt whether to consider the adikar a friend or a foe.

The adikar communicated by an *ola* (letter) with Major Davie on the 23d June, informing him, in his usual mysterious manner, that the Kandyans intended to attack him, and that he himself had lost the confidence and incurred the displeasure of the king. In consequence of this information, a disposition was made for the defence of the town, and four field-pieces were placed in different directions for its protection.

The truce was broken, on the part of the Kandyans, on the same day, by seizing the posts of Giriagamme and Galgederah, which were garrisoned by Malays, some of whom had deserted. These posts are situated about ten or twelve miles from Kandy, on the road to Colombo, by Kornegalle.

Before daybreak, on the morning of Friday the 24th June, the Kandyan force, which is said to have exceeded 10,000 men, attacked a small British post, situated on a hill immediately adjoining to the palace, where the troops were stationed, in Kandy, and made the garrison prisoners. The palace was next attacked by a party of Kandyan Malays. These were opposed by Lieutenant Blakeney and a few men of the 19th Regiment. Lieutenant Blakeney and the Malay chief who commanded the assailants were killed. Captain Humphries, by loading a field-piece with grape-shot, did great execution among the enemy. The Kandyans occupied the hill adjoining the palace in great numbers, and continued to keep up an incessant fire upon the English by means of jingals. Lieutenant Plenderleath was mortally wounded; a private of the Bengal Artillery and two Malays were killed. The officers of the

garrison became exhausted with fatigue. There were only twenty European convalescents to resist a great body of Kandyans who were pressing upon the palace. Owing to the defection of the Malays by desertion, this branch of Major Davie's force must have been greatly reduced. On the 1st April, when General Macdowal left the interior with the great body of the troops, 700 Malays remained in Kandy as part of the garrison; but when Major Davie retreated from Kandy, only 250 accompanied him, no fewer than 450 being unaccounted for. The European officers of the Malay regiment having become sensible of the inability of the English to resist the Kandyans, represented to Major Davie that they could not hold out much longer, and entreated him to enter into a capitulation with the enemy. This representation was made about two o'clock, at which time they had been warmly engaged for ten hours. After some time being spent in considering the subject of a capitulation, a white flag was displayed by the British, and the firing ceased on both sides. A conference with the adikar and Major Davie ensued, when it was stipulated that Kandy should be immediately delivered up to the Kandyans, with all the stores, &c.; that the British should march out of Kandy with their arms, by the road leading to Trincomalee; that Mootoo Sawmy should be permitted to accompany them; and that the adikar should take care of the sick and wounded, until such time as they could be removed to Trincomalee or Colombo. The above articles were written on an *ola*, signed and exchanged between Major Davie and the adikar, who likewise delivered a passport to him, written in the name of the king, to enable him to proceed without molestation on the road to Trincomalee.

Accordingly, about 5 P.M., the troops, consisting of

14 European officers, 20 British soldiers, 250 Malays, 140 gun Lascars, with Prince Mootoo Sawmy and his attendants, marched out of Kandy, and proceeded to the Watapologa ferry, on the Maha Villa Ganga, about three miles on the road to Trincomalee. (*Cordiner*, vol. ii. p. 210.) The river, which in rainy weather is both wide and deep, not being fordable; and there being neither boats nor rafts provided by which they could cross it, they were obliged to halt all night. It rained very hard, and the party having no better means of covering, sought shelter under a *bogaha* tree, now called Major Davie's Tree, which still stands, on a green hillock near to the ferry. Here they remained exposed to very heavy rain. Next morning, Saturday the 25th June, the troops were employed in endeavouring to form rafts; but a rope could not, with their means, be easily carried across the river, owing to the depth and rapidity of the current. About seven A.M., many armed Kandyans assembled near them, and others made their appearance on the opposite bank. Four head men came to Major Davie, and informed him that the king had been greatly offended with the adikar for permitting the garrison to leave Kandy; but that if he would deliver up Mootoo Sawmy, boats would be supplied to cross the river, and the party would receive the requisite assistance to enable them to accomplish their march to Trincomalee. Major Davie refused, at first, to do so; but having been waited on by another party of Kandyan chiefs, who informed him, that if Mootoo Sawmy were withheld, the king would send his whole force to seize him, and prevent the British troops from crossing the river; after a consultation with the officers, he consented to give him up, as it appeared that resistance would prove vain, and involve them all in destruction.

About four o'clock P.M., a few Kandyans joined the party, apparently to assist in making preparations for enabling the troops to cross the river, but night came on before anything effectual was completed. Early on Sunday the 26th June, armed Kandyans assembled in great numbers in the vicinity of the party. At about ten o'clock, Captain Humphreys succeeded in getting a warp across the river, but the Kandyans on the opposite side soon after cut the rope. About this time, the Malays and gun Lascars began to desert in small parties. Barnsley says that he saw some of the deserters, in the British uniform, fire upon the English. At about eleven o'clock, one hundred armed Kandyan Malays, and eighty Caffries, together with a great number of undisciplined natives, posted themselves within a hundred paces of the British troops. A Kandyan chief then came up to Major Davie, and delivered a message to him from the king, the purport of which was, that all the garrison should return to Kandy unarmed; and that if they refused to comply with this demand, they should be immediately surrounded and put to death. The writer has thus far chiefly followed Mr Cordiner, who, it is to be regretted, rarely mentions his authority for the facts he narrates; but, from the intimacy which existed between him and the Hon. Mr North, it may be presumed that his information was received from the best sources.*

* Major Beaver, who was aid-de-camp to Mr North, informs us that an officer's Malay servant, who had escaped from Kandy, detailed to his Excellency the circumstances connected with the delivering up of Mootoo Sawmy, and the massacre of the Europeans; and it is probable that Mr Cordiner derived his information from the same, or a similar source. The account Cordiner has given of the conduct and fate of Nouradeen and his brother at Hangarankettv was probably obtained from authority of the same kind. Major Beaver designates the King of Kandy as "the usurper," a term of reproach which is, I believe, not employed by Mr Cordiner.—*United Service Journal*, 1829, part ii. pp. 708, 709.

The following account of the surrender of the party, on the 26th June, and the subsequent massacre of the Europeans, is in a great measure derived from the testimony of Kandyans. A flag of truce was sent by the adikar to Major Davie on the 26th, conveying a proposal that he, together with two officers, should meet the adikar and two other Kandyan chiefs, at a place about half-way between the ferry and Kandy, for the alleged purpose of finally arranging the measures which were required to convey the troops across the river, and to assist them through the Kandyan territory towards Trincomalee. Major Davie complied with the proposal of the adikar, and, accompanied by Captains Rumley and Humphreys, and a Malay officer named Odeen, or perhaps Nouradeen, proceeded to the place appointed for the conference. Here they met three chiefs, but not the adikar. The chiefs informed Major Davie that the king wished to have an interview with the English officers at the palace, for the purpose of negotiating with them in person. Odeen, who was in all probability the interpreter, strongly remonstrated with the Major against proceeding to the palace, but in vain. Major Davie, having been apparently in some degree satisfied by the assurances of the chiefs that no deception was intended, and hoping, perhaps, that he might promote the retreat of the troops, gave his assent to accompany them to the king. By so doing, he committed an irreparable mistake; but it may, at the same time, be stated, that when he assented to proceed to Kandy, the troops had been two days and nights without shelter, and probably without dressed food of any kind; and that, as he never gave any account of the transaction himself, any opinion which may be entertained of his conduct must be formed from very imperfect and even doubtful information.

Besides, it is always an easy matter to judge of actions after they have happened: the difficulty of an undertaking consists in foreseeing its probable result. The writer most cordially concurs with the following sentiments of Major Forbes, in regard to this melancholy catastrophe. "We may," says the Major, "mitigate our severe opinion of the indefensible acts of this unfortunate commander, by imagining how much the scenes of sickness and suffering which he constantly witnessed may have affected his mind. We also see that his superiors, with better opportunities of information, were equally the dupes, and only by good fortune escaped becoming the victims of Kandyan treachery."

On reaching the town of Kandy, the three English officers were made prisoners, and confined separately. Odeen resisted the Kandyans in their attempts to secure him, and died on the spot, having been nearly cut to pieces. The Major and the other two officers having been secured, as has been already stated, the Kandyans adopted the following stratagem to induce the British troops to give up their arms, which proved but too successful. A deserter from the Malay corps, a half-caste drummer, was despatched by the Kandyan chiefs to Watapologa ferry, with instructions to inform the English officers that he had been directed by Major Davie to convey his orders to them to give up their arms to the Kandyans, and to return forthwith to Kandy, thence to be sent, by the Gonarooa ferry and the route of the Four Corles, to Colombo, an agreement having been made to that effect with the king. On the delivery of this message, it is alleged that a council was held by the officers, at which Mootoo Sawmy was present. This spirited Hindoo is said to have warmly remonstrated against the officers entertaining the question of ordering

the troops to give up their arms, and submitting to the king. "Will you, the brave English," said he, "who have conquered all India, give up your arms, and put yourselves in the power of the cowardly, treacherous Kandyans, who, the moment they can do it with impunity, will put you all to death? Rather march back to Kandy, where a few discharges from your muskets will disperse the Kandyan force, and give you possession of the town. You have provisions for a day or two, during which period the river may subside, by which means you may pursue your retreat to Trincomalee." The officers, it would seem, determined otherwise. We have, however, no satisfactory account of this part of the melancholy transaction. It is alleged that they directed the troops to give up their arms, which was done, and the native troops, consisting of the Malays and gun Lascars, were made prisoners. Mootoo Sawmy was at this time given up to the Kandyans, who conveyed him back to Kandy, and forthwith put him to death. The above information respecting the means adopted by the Kandyan chiefs to seduce Major Davie from his men at the ferry, and the deception employed by them to induce the troops to believe that the Major had directed them to surrender their arms, together with the fatal result, was communicated to Mr Simon Sawers in the year 1823, by one of the three chiefs who were employed on the occasion, Mullegamme Dissave, whose information was confirmed by the family of Millawa Dissave of Valessy, another of the three chiefs already mentioned.—(*Simon Sawers' MS. Notes.*)

Soon after Major Davie and the troops left Kandy, all the sick in hospital, to the number of 120, were put to death, as they lay incapable of resistance.—(*Cordiner*, vol. ii. p. 124.) General Brownrigg, in his official

declaration of the settlement of the government in 1815, states that the number of men killed in hospital was 150 ; but upon what authority his statement differs from that of Cordiner I am ignorant. Major Beaver, who belonged to the 19th regiment, and who was much employed in the war, states that the number killed in hospital was about 149.*

The European soldiers having given up their arms, and been abandoned by the Malays and Sepoys, did as they were desired, and returned, in small detached parties, (Barnsley says two by two,) along the road to Kandy for a short way, when they were led into a small hollow or dell, out of sight of their companions. Here they were put to death, mostly with the butt-end of a musket or large club. One person only of the whole number, Corporal Barnsley, 19th regiment, escaped to tell the sad tale. This man was, in his turn, led into the dell with a companion ; and, when he reached the place of slaughter, was knocked down by the butt-end of a musket, and desperately wounded with a tulwar, or large Kandyan knife, across the back of the neck. When he received the all but mortal blow, he fell to the ground, and rolled over a precipitous bank into the water-course of a rice field, where he was left for dead. Here he lay for some time, and, in that situation, alleges that he heard some desultory firing. Having so far recovered as to be able to move, he crept into the jungle, where he lay concealed during the night, and towards morning crawled to the ferry, with the view of endeavouring to cross the river, and to walk to Fort Macdowal. By the time Barnsley reached the ferry, the flood in the river had, in some measure, sub-

* United Service Journal, 1829, 2d part, p. 709.

sided, and the ordinary ferryman had resumed his occupation with his small canoe. To the honour of human nature, the heart of the ferryman was melted with compassion upon seeing the miserable spectacle Barnsley presented, and at the risk of his own life, not only ferried him across the river, but also gave him the small portion of rice which he had in his canoe. At this time Barnsley had not tasted food for two days. The kindness which was thus shown by the ferryman having become known to the English in 1815, search was made for him shortly after the troops took possession of Kandy. He was, with some difficulty, discovered, when he received a present from General Brownrigg.*

Fort Macdowal had been for three days in a state of blockade, being completely surrounded by the enemy, when Barnsley arrived and informed Captain Madge, the commandant, of the fate of the Kandyan garrison. Repeated offers had been made to him of a passport to Trincomalee, with the whole of his sick and baggage, on condition of surrendering,—proposals which he continued to reject. When Barnsley approached the post, he was discovered by the enemy, who availed themselves of his services, and sent him forward with a flag of truce, in the hope that his communication of the capture of Kandy would induce Captain Madge to capitulate.† At Fort Macdowal, Corporal Barnsley made a formal declaration or deposition of the surrender of Kandy, and the massacre of the Europeans, before the officers of the garrison. This deposition has been published by Captain

* As our information respecting the kindly offices of the ferryman depends upon the authority of Kandyans, and as it is virtually contradicted by Barnsley's statement, some doubt may be entertained with regard to its truthfulness.

† Captain Johnston's Narrative, p. 31.

Johnston, as an appendix to his Narrative. Barnsley, on becoming convalescent, requested a friend to draw up a narrative of his return to Trincomalee. Both of these documents, the Deposition and Narrative, the writer has subjoined. (*See* Appendix, No. IV.*)

Captain Madge, on learning the fate of the troops in Kandy, determined to commence a retreat to Trincomalee, a distance of 126 miles, before the enemy could be fully aware of his intentions. The garrison consisted of Captain Madge, as commandant, Captain Pierce, 19th regiment, Mr Gillespie, assistant-surgeon, and Lieutenant Driburgh of the Malay corps, thirty-two men of the 19th regiment, nineteen of whom were sick and unable to march, and twenty-two Malay soldiers. Having resolved to abandon the sick, he spiked the guns, and made the requisite arrangements for evacuating the fort, which he did after the moon had sunk behind the hills, or about ten o'clock, on the 27th June. The lamps of the garrison were left burning, and the retreat was commenced in silence. The enemy were not long, however, in discovering that Captain Madge had left the fort, and pursuing him. For about four days he was exposed to their hostile attacks, at the end of which period he was met by a detachment of 150 men of the Malay regiment, proceeding from Trincomalee to reinforce the garrison of Kandy. The combined force retreated to Trinco-

* Barnsley must have been an illiterate man, the declaration he made at Fort Macdowal being marked with the sign of the cross. Shortly after his recovery, and return to duty, he was promoted to the rank of serjeant; but, in a few months after, having got a little in liquor on the barrack guard of the cantonment, he was tried by a court-martial, and reduced to the ranks. He did duty as a private until 1805, when he was sent home along with other disabled men. Having been transferred to a veteran corps, he was on duty at Fort George in 1811.

malee, which they reached on the 3d July, unmolested by the Kandyans. Lieutenant Driburgh died the day after he arrived at that garrison.

The promptitude with which the retreat was undertaken, and the skill and courage with which it was effected, thereby rescuing a part of the troops from the melancholy fate of their devoted associates, reflects the highest credit on the military talents of Captain Madge. He must, however, have left the nineteen sick with great regret, being well aware that they would be forthwith put to death when they fell into the hands of the Kandyans.*

The post of Dambadiniya, in the Seven Corles, situated about sixty miles from Kandy, on the Colombo road, was garrisoned by a few invalids, under the command of Ensign Grant, who had distinguished himself by his gallantry and activity during the war. He was repeatedly summoned by the Kandyans to give up the post, but declined to listen to their proposals. He strengthened his fortifications with bags of rice and other stores, and sustained an almost incessant fire from a body of several thousand Kandyans for ten days. On the 2d July, the garrison was brought off by a body of troops from Colombo.

* Captain Madge's subsequent fate was a very unfortunate one. At a general court-martial held at Colombo, 13th January 1806, he was tried for delivering a message from Major Honner, 19th regiment, to the Captains of the 19th regiment, in December 1805, containing a mis-statement derogatory to the character, and subversive of the authority of the commander of the forces; and, having been found guilty, he was sentenced to be reprimanded in the severest and most public manner. As Major Honner had been cashiered for sending the message in question, his Majesty desired it to be intimated to Captain Madge, "that his Majesty does not consider him a fit person to bear his Majesty's commission, and that he should retire from the service, selling his commission for the regulated price."

Thus fell the last of our posts in the Kandyan country; and, in the course of ten days from the retaking of the capital, not an inch of ground remained to us beyond our original frontier.

At head-quarters much dissatisfaction was expressed with Mr North and the council, on account of the fearfully disastrous consequence of their measures, even before the report of the massacre of the garrison of Kandy had reached Colombo. At length a Lascoreyn, and, in a few days, a Malay soldier, who had made their escape from Kandy, arrived at Colombo, and gave an account of the massacre of the troops, but their statement was at first scarcely believed. It was not until a communication had been received from Trincomalee, containing an account of the escape of Barnsley, and his description of what he had seen and suffered, that the full extent of the loss we had sustained was known and credited.

Whether the king or the adikar was the chief author of the massacre of the troops, it is difficult to ascertain. The king attributed the horrid transaction to the adikar; and there is some reason to believe that his statement was well-founded. By putting the troops to death, the adikar not only gratified his revenge against the English, whom he disliked, but he gained another desirable object,—he rendered the king, whom he hated, odious to the English government. But when a discreditable action is committed, the participators are very apt to differ in regard to the degree of blame which should attach to each.

I may now advert to the fate of the three officers who were made prisoners at Kandy, namely, Major Davie and Captains Rumley and Humphreys. The two captains died soon after they were made prisoners. Major

Davie was for some time detained at Kandy, but under strict *surveillance*, to prevent his escaping. He was afterwards removed to the province of Doombera; and, in 1810, a plan was in agitation, by a few Kandyan Malays, to carry him off, through the Vedah forests, to the fort of Batticallo, where they expected, no doubt, to be well rewarded by the British government. This plot having been discovered while it was still in embryo, Major Davie, then suffering from ill health, was brought to Kandy, and expired in Malabar Street a few days after he reached the capital.* The Malays who intended to liberate Major Davie were outlaws, who had been implicated in one of the several conspi-

* Major Adam Davie was a son of the late Mr John Davie, well known in Edinburgh by the cognomen of *Sooty Davie.* Mr Davie having become acquainted with the celebrated Dr Hutton, they formed a copartnership, and engaged in the manufacture of *sal-ammoniac* from coal-soot, which was carried on in Edinburgh for many years with considerable success. Adam Davie obtained a lieutenancy in the 75th Regiment in 1787, and in 1793 he was promoted to a company in the same corps. Having been employed recruiting in Edinburgh, he did not join the 75th Regiment until he had obtained the rank of captain, consequently, he was not present with the corps during its distinguished services in India. He appears never to have seen any active service while he was in the 75th Regiment. In 1801, he was promoted to a majority in Major Champagne's Infantry, a regiment of Malays. He is described by those who knew him as being a well-disposed, inoffensive man, without any practical experience of hostile military operations. While he was in India, he was tried by a court-martial for "absconding," and acquitted. Having had a short leave from the head-quarters of the 75th Regiment, then stationed on the Malabar coast, and being at Bombay, he obtained leave of absence, and permission to proceed to Europe, from the commander of the forces, without any reference having been made to the commanding officer of the regiment. He embarked at Bombay; but, as the ship touched at one of the ports on the coast, he was taken on shore, and placed under arrest, by order of the commanding officer of the 75th Regiment, and subsequently brought before a court-martial.

racies which had been concerted to assassinate the king. It is alleged that our government made several attempts to negotiate with the court of Kandy for the liberation of Major Davie; but the king having demanded for the ransom of his prisoner a sea-port on the coast, the British government refused to accede to his terms.*

The Malays who had been made prisoners of war in Kandy were separated into four parties, and quartered in different parts of the country, where they were carefully watched by the natives. By expressing a wish to assist the Kandyans in their predatory excursions into the maritime provinces, many of the prisoners, including the gun Lascars, succeeded, in a few months, in making their escape and reaching Colombo.—(*Cordiner*, vol. ii. p. 220.)

The total loss of life sustained by the British troops during the campaign was never publicly stated. The loss of the 19th Regiment, which was in part employed at Trincomalee, and in part at Kandy, during the year 1803, was as follows:—The mean strength of the corps

* Mrs Heber states, that "Major Davie's life was spared from a kind of honourable feeling, as being the individual with whom the treaty had been made; but he spent the remainder of his life at Kandy, unnoticed by the Europeans, and at last adopted the dress and habits of the natives." On this passage it is only necessary to observe, that there were no Europeans in the Kandyan country to notice Major Davie, but one other prisoner, a soldier named Thoen, who was not allowed to communicate with him. In the "Journal of a Tour in Ceylon," it is obvious that Mrs Heber has, on several occasions, misunderstood her informants, or she has been hoaxed by them. Her account of the "Flying Leech," "an animal," she naïvely observes, "she never heard of before," is a striking example of her easiness of belief. Major Davie, in all probability, did adopt the dress of the natives, and used the same kind of food as they did, for this plain reason, that he could get no other.

was 843, and the mortality 338, being in the proportion of 400 per 1000, or 4-10ths of the whole strength.

The fatal consequences of exposure to an insalubrious climate, combined with great fatigue and privations of food, rest, &c., continue for a considerable period after troops have been removed to another station, and better supplied with provisions. Hence the mortality of the 19th Regiment, during the year 1804, was unusually high, the mean strength being 642, and the deaths 128, or in the proportion of 200 per 1000, 1-5th of the whole strength. In 1805, the proportion of mortality was 83 per 1000, being not much above the average annual mortality of the garrison of Trincomalee.*

The following is an attempt to account for the 300 Europeans left in Kandy, on the 1st April, derived from the imperfect materials which are available. On the 15th April, 55 were sent on detachment to Fort Macdowal; of this number 19 were slaughtered, and 13 escaped with Captain Madge; 19, exclusive of officers, were put to death at Watapologa Ferry, and 120 in hospital. In brief, thus:—

Massacred at Fort Macdowal,	19	158
——— Watapologa,	19	
——— in Hospital,	120	
Escaped to Trincomalee from Fort Macdowal,		13
——— from Kandy,		1
Died from 1st April to 24th June,		128
		300

I have followed Cordiner's account; but, if General Brownrigg's statement be correct, namely, that 150 men were in hospital, then the number who died, from

* The elementary materials for these numerical results were carefully extracted from the regimental records.

1st April till 24th June, will be 98, and the number killed 189, which, with 11 officers, makes the total number put to death 200.

To kill captives taken in war formed the common war law of ancient nations, among whom the prisoners capable of bearing arms were not only put to death, but were often previously subjected to the most horrid and barbarous inflictions. The vanquished were, in some instances, maimed by chopping off their thumbs and great toes, by which means they could neither effectually wield the weapons of war, nor march with ease, (Judges i. 6, 7.) The Mahommedan law, and the usages of war in Oriental countries, do not discountenance a breach of good faith to an invading enemy. Nominal Christians, even in modern times, have barbarously butchered prisoners of war without much loss of character. On the 7th March 1799, Bonaparte stormed Jaffa, which was bravely defended by several thousand Turks: 1500 men of the garrison held out in the fort and other buildings, until at last they surrendered as prisoners of war. Two days after, on the 9th, about 1200 of these were marched out of Jaffa, tied together with cords in the centre of a battalion, commanded by General Bon. Having reached the sand-hills south-east of Jaffa, and there being divided into small bodies, they were put to death in masses by volleys of musketry. Those who fell wounded were despatched with the bayonet. Such was the massacre at Jaffa, which Bonaparte, at St Helena, attempted to justify, by saying that these men had belonged to other surrendered garrisons, who had been allowed to return home on condition of not serving against the French. This account of the butchery at Jaffa will remind the reader of the slaughter of the troops at Kandy and Watapologa; but, notwith-

standing the atrocious conduct of Bonaparte, he did not lose caste among the great ones of the earth on account of this example of barbarous severity. In our own country, prisoners of war were, not long ago, made slaves. The captives taken at the battles of Dunbar and Worcester, (1650 and 1651,) amounting to from 16,000 to 17,000 persons, were sold as slaves to the Plantations. It was long before even Christian nations considered it necessary or expedient to treat their prisoners with humanity, or to liberate them without the payment of a large ransom.

Christianity is certainly calculated to exalt and mend human nature, and to promote a benevolent disposition; but its effects in mitigating the barbarities of war, and improving the treatment of captives, have not been so extensive and effectual as could be wished. According to Paley, "The influence of religion is not to be sought for in the councils of princes, in the debates or resolutions of popular assemblies, in the conduct of governments towards their subjects, or of states and sovereigns towards one another, of conquerors at the head of their armies," &c.—(*Evidences of Christianity*, Chap. vii.)

On the 11th of April, when the 51st Regiment returned from Kandy to Colombo, about 400 men appeared under arms on parade; in little more than two months, 300 of that number were in their graves, chiefly from jungle fever.

Another example of the insalubrity of the climate in 1803 may be mentioned. On the 13th March 1803, the grenadier company of the 65th Regiment, consisting of three officers and seventy-five men, marched, under the command of Captain Bullock, from Colombo to Kottadinia, a small post in the Seven Corles; and, at the end of one month from the commencement of the march,

Lieutenant Hutchins and two privates were the only persons of the party who remained alive. Lieutenant Hutchins was subsequently attacked with fever, but he recovered, having gone to sea. Subjoined, I have given a classified return of the mortality which occurred among the commissioned military officers employed in Ceylon, together with the gentlemen of the Ceylon Civil Service, in the year 1803 and beginning of 1804, exclusive of the officers taken in Kandy:—

Regiment.	*Number.*	*Rank.*
19th, - - - - - -	one	Lieut.-Colonel.
51st, - - - - - -	one	Surgeon.
— - - - - - -	seven	Lieutenants.
65th, - - - - - -	one	Captain.
— - - - - - -	one	Lieutenant.
73d, - - - - - -	one	Lieut.-Colonel.
Malay Regiment, - - -	one	Captain.
— — - - -	four	Lieutenants.
— — - - -	three	Ensigns.
Ceylon Infantry, - - -	two	Lieutenants.
— — - - -	one	Ensign.
East India Company's Service,	one	Major.
— —	one	Lieutenant.
Ceylon Civil Service, - -	eight.	

Mr North communicated an account of the catastrophe which had happened in Kandy to the home government, in a despatch addressed to Lord Hobart, one of his Majesty's principal secretaries of state, dated Colombo, 8th July 1803. The facts relating to the abandonment of the town of Kandy by Major Davie, and the subsequent massacre of the European portion of the troops, contained in the despatch, were derived from a native Lascoreyn, who was in the town of Kandy when it was attacked on the 24th June, and who had found his way to Colombo, where he was sworn to the truth of his statement.—(*Annual Register*, 1803, p. 550.)

The Rev. Mr Cordiner concludes his account of the massacre at Watapologa with the following observations:—"Some of the embarrassments which distressed our unfortunate countrymen may not yet be known, but it is too certain that, in an evil hour, the majority of them, after having consulted together, abandoned themselves to the mercy of the Kandyans."* The information which has been published in regard to the measures

* On the 14th March 1804, Mr Creevy moved in the House of Commons for certain papers and documents, for the purpose of information, and a ground for further inquiry respecting the war which the king's government in Ceylon had been carrying on in the island. On this occasion, he expressed himself as follows:—

"I beg to advert to a very cruel and unfeeling account that has lately been published by his Majesty's ministers, purporting to be a despatch from the government of Ceylon, and giving an account of the murder of our garrison at Kandy. This letter, Sir, is an attempt to account for the final disasters of this war, and which rest entirely with the governor, by insinuations the most fatal to the honour and character of a British officer, who has fought and who has perished in the service of his country; and this, Sir, in the absence of any species of testimony on which such insinuations could be founded. I do entreat this house, in behalf of the character of that most unfortunate officer, to recollect how he was situated. There were only two hundred troops; 160 of them were sick in their beds, the remaining 40, I presume, were not very healthy. They were surrounded by (at least) 10,000 Kandyans, they were cut off from provisions, and were sixty miles from our nearest settlements. In this situation, they were ordered by our new ally, the first adikar, to lay down their arms, and they were deserted by the Malays in our service. Does any man believe it to be physically possible that these forty men, so unhappily circumstanced, could have cut their way through all these difficulties? Of this, at least, we may be certain, that, had they attempted so to do, the 160 who were sick would have been murdered. I contend, then, that if, in the absence of all testimony respecting the conduct of that unfortunate officer, we allow ourselves to speculate upon his motives, we are bound, in fairness, to believe that he was influenced by a very natural and generous sympathy for this great majority of his sick and helpless fellow-soldiers; and that, in acting as he did, he consulted what he conceived to be the best not only for himself alone, but for the whole garrison of Kandy."

adopted by Major Davie during the twelve or thirteen days he was invested with the paramount authority of commandant of Kandy, is not satisfactory; being neither sufficiently comprehensive, nor, perhaps, altogether trustworthy. A brief recapitulation of the information which is considered tolerably well-founded respecting the circumstances connected with the garrison, may, however, be adduced for the purpose of exhibiting the difficulties of Major Davie's situation. On the 28th March, a convention was concluded between General Macdowal, on the part of the British Government, and his majesty Mootoo Sawmy, the illustrious Lord Pilimi Talawa, and the other nobles of the court of Kandy, by which certain articles were agreed upon, and that *a truce or cessation of arms* should immediately take place between the contracting powers, and continue until the terms of the convention were fulfilled.—(*Vide* Appendix III.) This convention was confirmed, in all its provisions, by Governor North and Pilimi Talawa, at Dambadiniya, on the 3d May. General Macdowal left Colombo on the 16th, and reached Kandy on the 23d May. Here he remained until the 11th June, when he returned to Colombo. It is to be presumed that General Macdowal had made himself acquainted with the defences of the position, the condition of the commissariat stores, &c., and that he issued the requisite instructions to Major Davie in regard to the execution of his duties.

Major Davie succeeded to the command of Kandy on the death of Colonel Barbut, an event which took place on the 21st May; but while General Macdowal remained in Kandy, he was, from his rank, the responsible authority. Major Davie's paramount control of the garrison did not, therefore, take place until the 11th June; being, however, still bound, by the terms of the treaty, to preserve

a perfect cessation of arms. On the 13th June, two days after Major Davie had become the responsible commandant, he received a letter from the adikar, recommending him to undertake another expedition to Hangaranketty; but the Major being more suspicious of the honesty or good faith of our ally than Mr North, did not follow his suggestion. The truce was broken on the 23d June, by the Kandyans having, on that day, seized the posts of Giriagamme and Galgederah. On the 24th, Kandy was attacked. The result has already been told, both according to the account of Cordiner, and the authority of the Kandyan chiefs who were employed as emissaries of the adikar on the occasion in question. Taking into consideration the condition of Major Davie as commandant of Kandy, comprehending the measures of his superiors, and the force of circumstances, it may be asked what could he have done, after General Macdowal left Kandy, which would have enabled him to repulse the enemy in the event of his being attacked, or averted the evils which occurred? All the information which has been obtained respecting the conduct of Major Davie, and the other officers who marched from Kandy for Watapologa Ferry, on the afternoon of the 24th June, is insufficient to warrant our attempting to arrive at any very satisfactory conclusion in regard to their respective responsibilities. Considering the exhausted and unprepared state of the troops for enduring fatigue, together with the alleged infidelity of the Malays, what would have been the result had they succeeded in crossing the Maha Villa Ganga? Would a single man of the party have escaped the hostile vigilance of 10,000 men then at Kandy, together with the population on the road to Trincomalee? In all probability, the fate of the brave Constantine de Saa and his army in Uwa awaited them.

But, indeed, that result would have, in some respects, been better than that which actually happened.

Mr Knighton, in his recent History of Ceylon, accuses Major Davie of "misconduct," with perhaps too much precipitation, and adduces, as a proof of what he might have accomplished under the circumstances in which he was placed, the example of Captain Johnston in 1804, on what he calls a similar emergency. Major Beaver, in his account of the Kandyan war, and Mr Cordiner, in his account of the Kandyan campaign in 1803, are both very cautious in attributing misconduct to Major Davie. Mr Cordiner, who was intimate with Mr North, and had the best opportunities of acquiring whatever information could be obtained regarding Kandyan affairs at the period in question, observes, that "as no English officer who was present at the fall of Kandy has yet appeared to give an account of the causes which led to it, and the subsequent disasters, they are still involved in much obscurity;" and, as if we except the Kandyan account, no more circumstantial and authentic detail of the transactions has, since that time, appeared, it behoves us to be very cautious in imputing blame to an officer, who is universally admitted to have been placed in the most perilous condition, chiefly because he was not successful under circumstances where what may be called success was in all probability impossible. By comparing the condition of Major Davie and his party with that of Captain Madge at Fort Macdowal, and Captain Johnston, it will appear that he was in an infinitely more hopeless and helpless predicament than either of these officers. The Major's party at Watapologa consisted of 14 officers, 20 European soldiers, exhausted with disease, fatigue, and privations of every kind, 250 Malays, whose fidelity was deservedly suspected, and 140 gun Lascars,

a species of troops not presumed to be acquainted with the use of the firelock. He was without provisions, and without the means of conveying provisions. His ammunition must have been very scanty, if he had any but what might be in the cartouch-boxes. The task he had to perform was to cross a rapid unfordable river, in the face of a hostile force, said to amount to many thousands, and to march 142 miles, (*Cordiner,*) opposed by a vigilant adverse population.

Captain Madge's detachment consisted of 4 officers, 13 efficient European soldiers, and 22 Malays. He had abundance of provisions for his journey, as well as ammunition. The length of his march was 126 miles, and he had to resist the hostile attacks of the enemy for only four days, having met a reinforcement of fresh troops on the road.

Captain Johnston's detachment, when he commenced his march from Batticallo, consisted of 7 officers, 75 European soldiers, 202 Malay and Sepoy soldiers, 550 pioneers and coolies. By the time he reached Kandy, he had three men killed and two wounded. On leaving Kandy, he had abundance of rice, and an ample supply of ammunition. He was eleven days on his retreat from Kandy to Trincomalee. His casualties of killed, wounded, and missing, were as follow :—2 European officers, 14 European soldiers, 7 Malays, 54 Bengal Sepoys. No account is rendered of the pioneers and coolies.

The result of Captain Johnston's expedition is but very little calculated to induce us to conclude that Major Davie could, by any measure he might have adopted, have saved the life of a single European of his party.

The following is a list of the officers who belonged to the garrison of Kandy when it was attacked on the 24th June :—

Major Adam	Davie,	Ceylon Regiment, (Malays.)
Captains	Humphreys,	Bengal Artillery.
—	Rumley,	Ceylon Regiment.
Lieutenants	*Blakeney,	19th Regiment.
—	†Plenderleath,	19th Regiment.
—	Byne,	19th Regiment.
—	Maclaine,	19th Regiment.
—	Ormsby,	51st Regiment.
—	Mercer,	Ceylon Regiment.
Ensigns	Smith,	19th Regiment.
—	Bany,	Ceylon Regiment.
—	Fanthome,	Ceylon Regiment.
—	Gaupil,	Ceylon Regiment.
Asst. Surgeon	Hollaway,	Bengal Artillery.
—	Hope,	19th Regiment.
Quartermaster	Brown,	19th Regiment.

The Kandyans followed up their success by endeavouring to seduce the native subjects of the British government from their allegiance, and to excite dissatisfaction in various parts of the maritime territory. By these means, it is presumed, they hoped to overcome the remnant of our troops. Towards the end of July, all our Kandyan frontiers were threatened by warlike assemblies, nearly at the same time. In the months of August and September, they poured down from the mountains, and by cajoliug some, and intimidating others, prevailed on many of the native inhabitants of our own settlements to join them, the ultimate object beiug to accelerate our expulsion from the island. The irruption of the Kandyans into our settlements extended from Hambantotte on the south coast, round the whole west and north coast, to the small fort of Mullativoe, north from Trincomalee. On the 20th August, the

* Lieutenant Blakeney was killed in action on the 24th June.

† Lieutenant Plenderleath died on the same day in consequence of his wounds.

enemy took the small fort of Hangwelle, about twenty miles from Colombo, and next day they advanced to within fourteen or fifteen miles of that capital, at which the burghers in the suburbs became alarmed, and many of them took shelter in the garrison.

Reinforcements having arrived from the Cape of Good Hope and Bengal, our government determined upon measures of retaliation; and now commenced a war of devastation; detachments of British troops having entered the Kandyan country for the express purpose of laying it waste wherever they were able to penetrate, and of destroying whatever could be destroyed.

When we read of British troops being "employed in burning and destroying all the houses, stores, and gardens in the rich province of Saffragam,"—one detachment having destroyed 800 Kandyan houses, and many other parts of the country having been exposed to similar scenes of plunder and devastation,—we turn from the recital with disgust, and our hearts will not suffer us to admit that the plea of vengeance could sanction such enormities. On one occasion, we are informed that a detachment plundered a pagoda, or place of religious worship, in Saffragam, which contained a large quantity of copper and silver coins. The Malay soldiers belonging to the detachment refused to accept a share of the plunder, and the common coolies would neither enter the pagoda nor touch the coins. The offence of violating or profaning and plundering a temple held sacred by Buddhists, was committed by the European troops, and by them alone. The reverend historian who records these atrocities expresses no commiseration for the sufferings of the unoffending inhabitants; inflicts no censure on the detachment for committing sacrilege; indeed, he seems to regret that the party was unable to

bring away all the beautiful elephants' tusks, and other curious articles which the temple contained. He attributes the refusal of the Malay soldiers to share in the plunder to superstition.—(*Cordiner*, vol. ii. pp. 256 and 258.)

The ill-directed zeal of the Portuguese, which led them to regard a conversion to the Christian faith as a necessary test of allegiance from those over whom they exercised dominion, was of itself an insuperable bar to their success in the conquest of Ceylon, while the bad faith and rapacity of the Dutch inspired the natives of the interior with a dread of their power and influence, which no consideration was sufficiently powerful to remove. It must be admitted that the incursions of our troops into the Kandyan territory, during the years 1803 and 1804, were calculated to fill the population with the most unfavourable opinion of our justice and humanity, and to confirm their worst prejudices against the European race.

About this time, Pilimi Talawa renewed his treasonable correspondence with Mr North, who, having learned to entertain some doubts respecting the *good faith* of his former ally, did not respond to his communications. The adikar must have had great confidence in the credulity of the English, or he would not, after all that had happened, have had the effrontery to renew an epistolary correspondence with the governor.

The army having been strengthened by the arrival of the 65th Regiment from England, and reinforcements from Madras and Bengal, it was resolved by the local government, in August 1804, again to invade the Kandyan country.

From the magnitude of the army about to be employed, it was resolved to divide it into six columns or

divisions, which should march separately from different stations, so as to concentrate in the vicinity of the capital. By these means, it was hoped that each division would be able to procure conveyance, (coolies,) the great desideratum, for its own immediate wants in the district from which it was to march.

General Wemyss, who had succeeded General Macdowal in the command of the forces, desirous of ascertaining, by personal inspection, the state of the detachments at the different stations, and of inquiring into the practicability and eligibility of the different routes, made a tour of the maritime parts of the island, accompanied by the adjutant-general, in the month of August 1804. At Batticallo, he explained to Captain Johnston, the commandant, as one of those officers selected to command a division, the meditated expedition, and his views respecting the combined attack on Kandy. From Batticallo, the general proceeded to Trincomalee, whence Captain Johnston shortly afterwards received a letter from the adjutant-general, bearing date 3d September, and another letter from Jaffnapatam, dated 8th September; the purport of both of these letters, according to his interpretation of them, being to direct him to equip a force of Europeans and natives, and to proceed with it to the enemy's country, so as to be prepared to co-operate with the other divisions, which were expected to form a general junction on the heights of Kandy on the 28th or 29th September, for the purpose of destroying the enemy's capital. The letter from Jaffnapatam contains the following passage:—"*You will, in junction with the other detachments, concert such measures as will best tend to effect the greatest devastation and injury to the enemy's country.*" The object of this inroad into the Kandyan territory was thus officially avowed to

be for the purpose of indulging, to the uttermost, the spirit of vengeance and devastation at the expense of the inhabitants. Whatever the public authorities may intend on occasions of this kind, it is seldom that they so grossly commit themselves, by specifically commanding the perpetration of acts of savage barbarity.—(*Vide* Appendix, No. V.)

Captain Johnston, in compliance with what he considered the object of the two letters from the adjutant-general, equipped a force consisting of 82 Europeans, 202 native soldiers, (Malays and Bengal Sepoys,) and 550 pioneers and coolies, and marched from Batticallo on the 20th of September. After much hard fighting, and surmounting innumerable obstacles, in the woods and mountains of Uwa, he reached Kandy on the 6th October; but, to his great surprise and disappointment, he could obtain no satisfactory information respecting the march of any of the other five divisions intended for the devastation of the Kandyan country. He remained in the capital three days, from the 6th until the 9th, when he left Kandy for Trincomalee by the Watapologa Ferry. During the 9th and 10th, he had constant skirmishing with the Kandyans; and it was not until the afternoon of the 10th that the detachment had crossed the Maha Villa Ganga, leaving the tents behind, not having been able to get them across the river. The ammunition had, by this time, been greatly reduced. The carriage bullocks, which would materially impede his progress, he determined to abandon, each soldier being directed to take six days' rice on his back. The stores were also abandoned or destroyed. While destroying some of the stores, a parcel of loose powder which had been left near one of the boxes con-

taining shells, unfortunately exploded; the fire was communicated to the fusees, and the shells exploded among the detachment, killing and wounding several coolies, and severely wounding a serjeant of artillery. About five o'clock in the afternoon of the 10th, the detachment commenced its march from the left bank of the Maha Villa Ganga, the coolies carrying a long train of sick and wounded. Having reached the Aitgalle Pass, they spent a distressing night, exposed to incessant rain, without the means of dressing rice. While Captain Johnston remained at Kandy, the population were busy preparing to cut off his retreat to Trincomalee. The Aitgalle Pass, and the whole line of road through the jungles of Matele, extending for sixty or seventy miles, were barricaded, in some places with breastworks, and in others by means of large trees laid across the road. In this pass he lost five Europeans, eight Sepoys, and thirty followers, killed and wounded. The march was continued on the 12th, with the loss of two Europeans and five Sepoys killed, and a Lieutenant Smith severely wounded. The guides acquainted with the country were lost, two having deserted and one having been shot.

13th October, the enemy seemed to be more resolute than ever. Led on by some of our Malays and gun Lascars who had formerly deserted to them, they attacked the detachment both in front and rear, and actually cut in amongst the coolies, who threw down the sick and wounded, and either ran into the forest to conceal themselves, or rushed in among the troops. Two wounded Europeans fell into the hands of the enemy. A number of Malays and Lascars who had deserted from the British army, and who were now in the Kandyan service, repeatedly addressed their countrymen in Captain

Johnston's detachment, exhorting them to join the royal forces, by which they would escape danger, and be highly rewarded. Lieutenant Virgo was directed to go forward, and order back the advanced guard, with the sick and wounded, but neither he nor the vanguard returned. The enemy having assembled in great force in the rear of the detachment, Captain Johnston determined to charge them, which was successfully effected, and the Kandyans completely routed. Since the 9th, the soldiers, and also the officers, had subsisted on undressed rice, which had become musty and mildewed. From seven o'clock in the morning until two in the afternoon, the weather generally continued fair, and the effects of the sun powerful; but, after two, rain began to fall, and continued without much remission during the whole of the night.

14th. Had great difficulty in discovering a road which he was satisfied led to Trincomalee.* The enemy's pursuit was considerably slackened. Passed this night in the woods, without shelter.

15th. A few shots only were fired at the detachment in the course of the day. Halted at night in a small village, where they were enabled to procure shelter and some refreshment.

16th. Reached Minnery Lake, about fifty-six miles from Trincomalee, where Captain Johnston found the advanced guard and Lieutenant Virgo, but without Lieutenants Vincent and Smith, and two wounded soldiers of the 19th Regiment. The guard alleged that

* The writer having traversed this dreary wilderness from Trincomalee to Kandy in 1816, can, in some measure, appreciate the difficulty Captain Johnston had to distinguish the common pathway from an elephant track through the jungle.

they had lost their way in the woods, and were nearly starved; that the coolies deserted them; that they were themselves so exhausted as to be scarcely able to walk, and had no means of carrying the sick, whom they were under the necessity of abandoning; that they were without guides, and found their way to the village where they then were by mere chance. Lieutenant Virgo pleaded, in justification of his conduct, that the soldiers had refused to obey his orders; and on inquiry, Captain Johnston found that the situation in which the soldiers were placed had, in some degree, shaken their discipline, and that they were encouraged in their insubordination by one of the non-commissioned officers. Lieutenant Virgo was at first placed under arrest, but he was soon after released; Captain Johnston having resolved to submit the whole affair to the commanding officer at Trincomalee.

17th and 18th. The detachment continued its march unmolested by the enemy, passing both nights in the woods, exposed to the inclemency of the monsoon, without the least shelter.

After undergoing incredible hardships and privations, arising from the nature of the country, the numbers and vigilance of the enemy, exposure to a tropical sun during the day, alternating with a cold, moist atmosphere, without covering at night, want of food, &c., the detachment reached Trincomalee on the 20th October 1804. The following is a return of the killed, wounded, and missing; but as the missing were never heard of, I have included them among the killed:—

	Europeans.	*Malays.*	*Bengal Sepoys.*
Killed, .	10	3	21
Wounded, .	6	4	27

In consequence of the desertions which took place among the coolies and pioneers, the exact amount of their killed and wounded could never be ascertained; but there is every reason to believe that a very considerable number was killed. Among the Europeans missing, two were commissioned officers.

The Kandyans, it will appear, were not the only enemies the detachment had to contend with; they had to endure hunger, fatigue, extremes of heat and cold, besides the diseases incidental to an unhealthy climate. At an early stage of the retreat, Captain Johnston was obliged to abandon the doolies, in consequence of the death or desertion of the bearers, or coolies; the most helpless cases of the sick and wounded being carried on cloths fastened to bamboos, whilst the others got on by leaning on their less exhausted comrades. For the first three days, the detachment was not permitted to halt during the day, even for a single moment, to dress the wounded men; the least delay enabling the enemy to oppose fresh obstacles to their retreat. When less pressed by the enemy, it was out of the surgeon's power to be of much assistance to the wounded, the cooly who carried the medicines having deserted; and as the wounds were not dressed, they became in general ill-conditioned, and at length so offensive to the patients themselves, as scarcely to be borne. Those men who had escaped sickness and wounds on the retreat were emaciated, sallow, and debilitated to an extreme degree. They were almost all barefooted, the shoes having been completely worn out. This retreat was nearly as fatal to the Europeans of the detachment as the massacre of 1803 had been, for almost all died in the hospital; few, very few, survived.*—

* Assistant-Surgeon Gillespie, the same medical officer who escaped from Fort Macdowal, along with Captain Madge, in 1803,

(*Narrative of the Operations of a Detachment on an Expedition to Kandy, in the Island of Ceylon, in the year* 1804; *by Captain Johnston.*—London, 1810.)

Too much credit cannot be given to Captain Johnston for the great military talents he displayed in conducting his detachment through a country so full of natural obstacles, and defended by a race of people so active and persevering in resisting invaders as the natives of the interior of Ceylon.

He concludes his Narrative with the following interesting summary of the suffering and anxiety he underwent during the expedition, and the anguish of his mind when he found that it was not intended he should have proceeded to Kandy:—

"In common with the rest of the detachment, I had performed the greater part of the retreat barefooted. Had I possessed, indeed, changes of boots and shoes, I could not have used them, my feet having swelled and become so tender, from constant wet, that I could not, without considerable pain, put them to the ground.

"In this condition, emaciated by fatigue, and labouring, besides, under a severe dysentery, I was, for the last two days, obliged to be carried in my cloak fastened to a stick.

"These bodily sufferings, however, severe as they were, were only shared in common with many of those around me, and fell far short of the anguish of my mind. Whilst I witnessed the melancholy state of my brave companions, I could not help reflecting, that perhaps my precipitate retreat from Kandy had brought all this dis-

belonged to Captain Johnston's detachment, although he seems to have been omitted in the numerical return of the strength of the party. Captain Johnston alludes to the "surgeon" in his Narrative, but he never mentions Mr Gillespie's name.

tress and misery upon them; that the other divisions were possibly now in Kandy, carrying into execution the general's plans; and that, in such case, I must, by my premature retreat, incur the censure of the general, and perhaps of the whole army.

"On the other hand, in the event of our troops not coming up, I was satisfied that, had I remained a single day longer in Kandy, the river, from the constant rains which we had experienced, would have become completely impassable; that our provisions would have been expended, without the possibility of procuring any fresh supply; and that, though determined not to capitulate under any extremity, we must, in the end, have been overpowered, owing to the want of ammunition as well as from the presence of sickness and famine.

"While my mind was agitated by these conflicting reflections, we arrived at Tamblegamme on the 19th, where we were met by some officers from Trincomalee, who had heard that morning of our approach.

"No words can express my surprise on now learning, for the first time, that it was not intended that I should proceed to Kandy; that the general, on arriving at Jaffnapatam, had found obstacles to the combined attack, which he considered to be insurmountable; that the second letter I received was intended as a countermand of the original plan; and that my having gone to Kandy was deemed a disobedience of orders; that it was merely meant that the divisions should enter those parts of the enemy's territory adjacent to their respective districts, and return after laying waste the country; that the other five divisions had accordingly made these incursions, and had long since returned; and that the government, having learned from the Singalese on the borders

of my detachment having been in Kandy, had despaired of our ever returning."

It having appeared necessary that an affair attended with such serious consequences should undergo investigation, Captain Johnston was ordered round to Colombo, where a court of inquiry was held upon his conduct. The decision of the court was, that by proceeding to Kandy he had not disobeyed the orders he received. Lieutenant Virgo was tried by a court-martial at Trincomalee for failing to comply with Captain Johnston's orders to bring back the advanced guard, together with the sick and wounded, on the 13th October. It is alleged he was treated with great asperity by some of the officers of the 19th Regiment, and that he was hardly dealt with on his trial. He was sentenced to be suspended from rank and pay for a period of six calendar months. He had been wounded by the enemy, and lost an eye during the expedition.*—(*Vide* Appendix, No. VI.)

* Captain Arthur Johnston, who displayed so much bravery and resolution in conducting this detachment, was a native of Ireland. He entered the army in 1794, and in 1795 he was promoted to the rank of lieutenant in the 19th Regiment. In 1804, he obtained a company in the 3d Ceylon Regiment, and in 1811 a majority in the same corps, from which he was soon after removed to the Corsican Rangers. He went on half-pay in 1816, having become lieutenant-colonel by brevet in 1814. After retiring on half-pay, he was for some time employed as a professor in the Royal Military College. He died in 1823 or 1824. Captain Johnston was a claimant for the Annandale peerage.

Lieutenant Virgo, 1st Ceylon Regiment, had at one time been a private in the band of the 80th Regiment. He lived in a very retired manner, read much, and was considered well informed on general subjects. He was supposed to indulge in the use of opium. As an officer, he was not considered very efficient. He was repeatedly superseded in the Malay regiment by the promotion of junior officers of the same corps. In 1818, he exchanged on half-pay as lieutenant, the rank he had attained in 1800, and died in 1837.

A desultory warfare of retribution, between the Kandyans and the English, continued until about February or March 1805. The war was conducted by both parties, Christian and Heathen, with savage barbarity. Numerous villages were burnt, and large tracks of country reduced to desolation. The English, no doubt, palliated their barbarities by the loss they had incurred during the invasion of 1803; but who can justify retaliation when the innocent are the victims?

In our own territory, the disaffection of the inhabitants was punished by martial law with fearful severity. At Cogel on the southern coast, for example, the inhabitants of which village had interrupted the communication between Galle and Matura, fifty boats were burned, and all the houses in the village destroyed. One "rioter" was hanged, and five others were condemned to receive each 1000 lashes, a favourite sentence with courts-martial at that period, and for a long time after; but happily these courts are not now authorized to award an unlimited sentence.

In February 1805, an extensive invasion of our territory by the Kandyans took place; but by this time large reinforcements had arrived, which enabled us to act with vigour and effect. The Kandyans were completely routed, and retired from the maritime provinces with great loss.

On this occasion, the king intended to make an inroad into the district of Colombo, and, being confident of success, accompanied a detachment of his army into the maritime provinces. His forces having been defeated and dispersed, he fled with great precipitation, believing, it is presumed, that he was followed by the English troops. By the time he reached the district of the Four Corles, his palanquin-bearers and attendants

were exhausted with hunger and fatigue, and unable to continue the flight. In this condition he was met by Molligodda, then a young man, and not enjoying any office under the king, who rendered his sovereign the most acceptable and beneficial services. From this time, Molligodda was regarded by the king with great favour, and, as we shall see, was soon after appointed to an important office under government.

Indirect advances were soon after made by the Kandyans, and accepted by the English, for a tacit cessation of hostilities. "From the time that we commenced war with the Kandyans, our troops," as has been observed by Major Forbes, "were grievously harassed and uselessly sacrificed. We neither conciliated our own subjects, nor gained respect from our enemies. Our negotiations were despicable, and our policy cruel and unsuccessful."

On the 19th July 1805, the Right Honourable Sir Thomas Maitland assumed the government of the maritime provinces of Ceylon. Cordiner informs us, that General Maitland succeeded in getting a letter conveyed to Major Davie, to which he returned an answer, written with a pencil, on a small slip of paper, both pencil and paper having been sent to him from Colombo. Whether or not General Maitland made any direct application to the court of Kandy in favour of Major Davie, is not publicly known. Apparently, there was no friendly intercourse between Sir Thomas, while he was governor, and the king; but no act of aggression was committed by either party.

Major-General Wilson assumed the government of Ceylon on the 19th March 1811, and, during his tenure of office, there did not appear to be either friendly or hostile relations between the court of Kandy and the British government.

During this period of mutual forbearance between the governments of the maritime and central territories, important events occurred in the Kandyan country. The dissavony of the Seven Corles having become vacant in 1806 by the death of Megasthene, second adikar, and dissave of this district, it was divided between two chiefs, Eheylapola and Molligodda; a circumstance which greatly dissatisfied the people, two dissaves being supposed to require double the services and duties of one, and the arrangement, moreover, being contrary to custom. An insurrection was the consequence, which Pilimi Talawa succeeded in suppressing, the district having been transferred to him and his nephew Eheylapola. The success of this chief is said to have excited the king's suspicion and jealousy, and heightened the aversion he had for some time entertained towards him. Other circumstances occurred which increased the discord between this chief and the king; mutual hatred followed, coupled with mutual dread, each having good grounds for considering his life insecure from the machinations of the other. The adikar having, in the opinion of the king, committed some breach of duty, was summoned to court, to appear before him and the chiefs assembled in Kandy. His offences being recapitulated, he was forthwith deprived of all his offices, and incarcerated in prison, whence he was liberated with permission to retire to his country residence. A life of degradation and inaction was but ill adapted for this able, ambitious, enterprising, and vindictive chief. He soon entered into a conspiracy to assassinate the king. For this purpose he bribed the Malay Mohundiram and sixty Malays (the royal body guard) to perpetrate the murder; and he prevailed on the head men of Udunuwera and Yattinuwera to raise the people of their respective

districts in arms about the same time. The two provinces mentioned rose prematurely in rebellion, and the adikar's plot was marred. Some of the Malays fled to Colombo. The insurrection having been suppressed and the ringleaders apprehended, Pilimi Talawa, together with his son and nephew, were ordered to be brought to Kandy, to be tried for high treason. The adikar and his nephew arrived together, and, in the presence of the king and chiefs, were confronted with some of the other conspirators; and being convicted, were sentenced to suffer death. It is stated that the prisoners confessed they were guilty of the alleged treason. Pilimi Talawa and his nephew were immediately beheaded; and six petty chiefs were at the same time hanged and impaled, the dead bodies being tied to a post, and exposed in that condition near to a public road. The son, who was imprisoned at a considerable distance, was capitally convicted; but as he did not arrive till after the execution of his relations, and as it happened on a holiday, his life was spared, but his lands were confiscated. Pilimi Talawa was executed in 1812.

Lieutenant-General Sir Robert Brownrigg succeeded to the government of the maritime portion of the island of Ceylon on the 11th March 1812.

Eheylapola, who had been appointed second adikar in 1806, succeeded his uncle Pilimi Talawa as first adikar. This appointment is supposed to have been, in a great measure, occasioned by the ascendancy which Pilimi Talawa's family had established with the other chiefs, whereby the king was induced to acquiesce in their wishes, and to appoint him prime minister. It does not appear, however, that the king ever placed much trust in him. He seems, indeed, never to have deserved

the king's confidence, for, no sooner was he appointed first adikar, and became the head of the influential family to which he belonged, than he entertained the same disloyal and ambitious designs for which his able and perfidious uncle had suffered. After a brief period, the king's suspicions of his fidelity were excited, by learning that he was pursuing a system of intrigue inconsistent with loyalty to his sovereign.—(*Simon Sawers' MS. Notes on the Conquest of Kandy.*)

At this juncture, the king sent the chiefs into their respective districts, to superintend the cultivation of the country, and to collect the revenue. Eheylapola proceeded to his dissavony, (Saffragam,) where circumstances soon occurred which amply proved his want of fidelity to his sovereign. In consequence of several charges of extortion and injustice having been preferred to the king against him, he was ordered to return to Kandy for their investigation. The adikar failed to comply with the order of the king, and the reply he made was not calculated to satisfy or conciliate his sovereign. He forthwith prepared to set the king at defiance, and commenced a treasonable correspondence with General Brownrigg. An open rupture between the king and the adikar having taken place, the latter lost no time in assembling his adherents in Saffragam, for the purpose of resisting the royal forces. His designs becoming known in Kandy, he was deprived of all his public offices, and his wife and children, who were considered pledges of his loyalty, were imprisoned. Molligodda was appointed his successor, not only as first adikar, but also as dissave of the province of Saffragam. To suppress the rebellion, this chief proceeded to the disaffected province, the road to which, from Kandy, passes over the summit of Adam's Peak. Eheylapola's force was

soon routed, his adherents having made no effectual resistance. He fled to Caltura, a British post, in May 1814, whence he proceeded to Colombo with some of his followers. Molligodda returned to Kandy with the prisoners he had taken, forty-seven of whom, it is alleged, were executed. The cause of the disturbances in the Seven Corles was again investigated, the headmen supposed to have been concerned in the rebellion which Pilimi Talawa suppressed, were summoned to appear in Kandy. They were tried by a commission of three chiefs, of whom Molligodda, whose authority they had opposed, was one; after receiving corporal punishment, about seventy were executed: all of them being men of some consequence in the district.*

The brother of Eheylapola, having been suspected of misprison of treason, was executed, as were also his wife, and Eheylapola's wife and children; the latter were brought from prison and delivered over to the executioners in front of the palace. Having uttered some noble sentiments of devotion respecting her husband, this high-minded woman desired her eldest son to submit to his fate. By one blow with a sword, the boy was decapitated, the head was then thrown into a rice mortar,

* Molligodda appears to have acted the part of Judge Jefferies to the king with great alacrity; but he was more fortunate than the Chief-Justice, who, after being made Chancellor, was so ill-treated by the populace that he died soon after. James the Second and his coadjutor, it must be admitted, executed legal slaughter in a much more wholesale manner than even the King of Kandy and his obsequious minister. In writing to Lord Sunderland from Dorchester, when he was on his campaign to the West, the Chief-Justice says—"I have this day began with the rebels, and have despatched ninety-eight." Except in Russia, criminals are rarely flogged before capital punishment. The party who conspired to assassinate Peter the Great were all seized and punished with great severity by the knout, or the *battoques*, a kind of bastinado, (stick-beating,) and then beheaded.

and a pestle put into the mother's hand, with which she was ordered to pound it. The threat of giving her and her relations to be defiled by the Rhodias, had the effect of supporting her fortitude to suffer any infliction. In this resolution, it is said, she was encouraged by the chief who superintended the execution, and who, being a relation of her husband, at the risk of his life reminded her of the disgrace that would be brought on her family by seeming to accept such terms. But this noble lady did not require any encouragement, having displayed the most astonishing fortitude throughout this fearful trial. The wretched woman lifted the pestle and let it fall. The other children were decapitated in succession, and treated in the same manner. Dr Davy informs us that the eldest boy was eleven years old, and the second nine years: he mentions the circumstances attending the execution of two other children, but does not specifically state the number of children who were put to death on this occasion. The late Mr Tolfrey (*A Narrative of Events which occurred in Ceylon*) alleges that there were five children in all, and that the eldest was a lad eighteen years of age. General Brownrigg, in his official declaration of the settlement of the Kandyan provinces, speaks of "four infant children," from which it may be presumed that Mr Tolfrey had been misinformed regarding the number of the children who were on this occasion executed, and the age of the eldest. The mother, and three other females, were then led to the Bogamborawa tank, in the neighbourhood of Kandy, and there drowned.*—(*An Account of the Interior of Ceylon, &c., by Dr Davy.*)

* The King of Kandy might almost dispute the palm of cruelty with the hero of Culloden, the Duke of Cumberland, who left be-

According to Kandyan usages, the relations of a traitor were liable to punishment. Knox informs us that Rajah

hind him in Scotland the name of *the Butcher*, a title confirmed to him by the English. He invariably contended for the Highlanders being treated with "*the utmost severity;*" and what "utmost severity" meant may be inferred, when it is asserted, on indisputable authority, that the Highland women were subjected to the last indignity and brutality by his army,—that their children were frequently shot, stabbed, or thrown over the rocks,—and that it became a common spectacle to see men, women, and children, frantic with hunger, following in the track of the plunderers, and imploring for the blood and offal of their own cattle, carried off and slaughtered for the use of the troops. The carnage which had been committed, and was still committing, after the battle of Culloden, his Royal Highness was pleased to style *a little blood-letting*, which only weakened the madness, but did not at all cure it.

> "When the rage of battle ceased,
> The victor's soul was not appeased;
> The naked and forlorn must feel
> Devouring flames and murdering steel."—*Smollet.*

The popular feeling in England appears not to have been disgusted with the barbarous mode of disembowelling traitors, and impaling heads, during the last century. At the time in question, the authorities were most punctilious in executing the treason sentences with all their heart-roasting atrocities; and about eighty ghastly heads were kept and impaled in different parts of the country. The mode of executing traitors by the King of Kandy was not more revolting to the feelings than the plan long adopted in England. In Kandy, the chiefs were beheaded and buried; individuals of the lower ranks were hanged, and the whole body attached to a stake, and exposed commonly at Gonarooa, which is about three miles from the capital, "at the greatest highway," says Knox, "that all may see and stand in awe." In England the heads were stuck up in towns. As late as the seventeenth century, not 200 years ago, convicted traitors were quartered in Scotland, and the quarters dispersed over the country. Even so recently as the Rebellion of 1745, the general feeling of the people in England seems to have been very unfavourable to the exercise of clemency. Few publications advocated the propriety of showing mercy to any of the rebels, either noblemen or common people. Even the pulpit was made the vehicle for promulgating inhuman sentiments. On the 21st of August, the chaplain of the high-

Singha's wrath was not always appeased by the execution of the malefactor, but sometimes he punished all his generation.

The failure of the numerous invasions of the Kandyan country by Europeans, together with their melancholy consequences, are supposed to have inspired the king with an impression of security, which the alleged advances made by our government, to establish a correspondence with the court, tended to confirm. How far this surmise may be well-founded, it is difficult to decide. The policy of the governments of the maritime provinces having been almost uniformly hostile towards the Kandyan country, it was very natural for the king to regard any advances made from that quarter with great suspicion. The Kandyan monarch wished to preserve his power and the independence of his kingdom, and he, no doubt, was well informed respecting the

sheriff of York profaned the Christian faith, by preaching before the judges who were to try a number of alleged rebels, a sermon, the spirit of which is sufficiently indicated by the text, Numbers xxv. 5, "And Moses said unto the judges of Israel, Slay ye every one his men that were joined unto Baal-peor." Cruelty is regarded with abhorrence, even when it is practised by savage or uncivilized nations; and it is, if possible, still more revolting when it is inflicted by professors of Christianity,—persons who admit the obligation of the humane precepts of the gospel.

The crime of treason is in most countries punished with greater severity than other crimes, and a degree of the punishment generally extends to the wives and children of traitors. Until lately, the punishment for treason was in this country a barbarous exhibition, perhaps more revolting than in any civilized country in the world. Before the 30th George III., women were sentenced to be burned alive for even petty treason. The law against treason is still of a very barbarous character. As it now stands, a person convicted of treason forfeits to the crown his whole property, real and personal, as well as his honours and dignities; and the consequent corruption of blood deprives him of all right of succession, and prevents his descendants from taking any succession through him.

exertions which had been made by the Portuguese and Dutch to conquer the Kandyan country, by which means the impressions their conduct excited survived towards us, we being the inheritors of their cause.

On the arrival of Eheylapola at Colombo, he was provided with a residence in the suburbs by government, and, after a brief period, was admitted to an interview with the governor at Mount Lavinia, his Excellency's country-house. "At this interview he was," says Mr Tolfrey, "received with the most distinguished kindness and respect, and was so affected with the novelty of his situation, and the unwonted kindness of a superior, that, regardless of the forms of introduction, he burst into tears. As soon as he was composed, the governor soothed him with promises of favour and protection. The adikar observed, that he looked to his Excellency as his father; that he had been deprived of all the natural ties of relationship, and trusted that the favour he solicited, of being allowed to call the governor and Mrs Brownrigg his parents, would not be denied him." At this interview, it is probable that the incense of flattery was liberally dispensed by both parties; but, in that species of pleasing, Europeans must yield the palm of excellence to a courtly Kandyan. The governor and Eheylapola had, no doubt, one object in view, namely, the deposition of the king; but, in all other respects, their interests were very discordant. How little did Eheylapola anticipate, at this time, that, in a comparatively brief period, he should, without the form of a trial, be incarcerated in a state-prison, there to remain until it was deemed expedient to banish him for life to a foreign land!

Soon after the arrival of Eheylapola at Colombo, it became obvious that General Brownrigg had an invasion

of the Kandyan country in contemplation, and it has since been ascertained, that he was greatly encouraged to engage in the conquest of the interior by the ex-adikar. For this purpose he furnished his Excellency with important information respecting the resources of the Kandyan country, and the feelings of the chiefs and people towards the government. This able traitor also submitted a plan of hostile operations against his native country, which, with some modifications, was carried into effect by Sir Robert Brownrigg, and, as we shall see, with complete success.

An attempt was, about this time, made by General Brownrigg to induce Molligodda, the adikar and prime minister to the king, to abandon his sovereign and to join the allies, namely, the Kandyan rebels and the British invading force, and hopes were entertained that he would have been won over from his allegiance, several communications having passed between him and Mr D'Oyley, but the measure did not succeed.*

While the local government was tampering with Molligodda, and otherwise employed in fomenting rebellion against the king, information was received during the month of November, that ten cloth-merchants, subjects of the British government, had been seized in the Kandyan country, and punished, by order of the king, according to the severest of the Kandyan secondary punishments, viz., dismemberment and mutilation. Seven of the merchants died on the spot, and the re-

* Vide *Ceylon Miscellany*, vol. i. pp. 35, 36, "*Operations of the British Troops in Ceylon in* 1815. By an Officer employed in the Expedition." This journal was probably written by the late Colonel Willerman, Quartermaster-General to the troops in Ceylon. Colonel Willerman was a confidential friend of General Brownrigg, and may be presumed to have been intimately acquainted with the secret policy of his government.

maining three reached Colombo alive. This circumstance was considered by General Brownrigg as an act of aggression on the part of the King of Kandy, which involved the honour of the British nation. A true account of the cause of the punishment of the merchants was not obtained until several years after the British had taken possession of the country. The travelling merchants, or pedlars, in question, were plundered by some low-caste Kandyans in the Three Corles, a district in the Kandyan country, who, to prevent their being brought to justice, accused the men who had been robbed of being spies from the maritime provinces, and employed by the local government. Upon this charge, supported by the testimony of the men who had plundered them, the merchants were found guilty, and punished according to the common usage of the country. It was generally supposed in the Kandyan provinces, that the king had no doubt the men were spies; and, considering that Eheylapola had taken refuge in Colombo, where he was received by General Brownrigg "with the most distinguished kindness and respect," and that it was well known he was actively exciting rebellion against the king, there was some appearance of probability that the men were in reality agents of Eheylapola, and employed with the sanction of the local government.*—(*Simon Sawers' MS. Notes.*)

* Mutilation or dismemberment appears to have been a very common punishment in most countries during a state of semi-civilization, but it has always been more extensively used in the East than in perhaps any other part of the world. Brawling or quarrelling in the precincts of the court, at one time rendered a delinquent in this country liable to have his right hand chopped off. According to Blackstone, dismemberment is still a legitimate punishment for crime in Great Britain. But it is in the East that these barbarous punishments, taking away the nose and ears, have been most in

From about the period when the mutilation of the merchants became known at Colombo; the most active preparations for war were in progress. His Excellency applied to the Presidency of Madras for a reinforcement of troops, and it is alleged that a favourable answer was made to his application. During the month of November 1814, the first division of troops for service in the field was organized, and placed under the command of Major Hook. His Excellency superintended the equipment of this division with unremitting assiduity.

On the 9th December 1814, Major Hook's division, to which the writer belonged, marched for Hangwelle, a small post about eighteen miles from Colombo, and twelve from the Kandyan boundary. Our ally, Eheylapola, and the few people he could seduce from their allegiance, accompanied this division. About a fortnight after it marched from Colombo, and, before leaving Hangwelle, all the officers dined with the Kandyan chieftain. The perfidy of Kandyan allies having become quite proverbial, Major Hook took care not to permit any considerable number of Eheylapola's followers within his cantonments.

It must be recollected that Eheylapola was a subject of the King of Kandy, to whom he owed allegiance; and that he owed protection to his family, who, as his hostages, were, according to the custom of the country, answerable for his loyalty; consequently, an officer so situated, giving up his family to preconditioned destruction, rebelling against his king, and calling a foreign force into his country, required a strong case to be made out in his favour, before he could obtain the

use, (Ezek. xxiii. 25.) In Egypt the noses of adulterous persons were cut off, and in Chaldea both their ears and noses.

pardon or confidence of mankind. His professions of attachment to the British government, or affection towards General Brownrigg, deserved no credence except in so far as they might minister to his vengeance and ambition. His policy is presumed to have been much the same as that of his talented uncle, namely, to render the throne vacant by the arms of the English, as a preliminary measure to his attaining sovereign power.

It was intended that Major Hook's division should remain at Hangwelle until the arrival of the troops from Madras; but, about the time they were expected, despatches were received from the Madras government, announcing the recall of the corps intended for service in Ceylon, on account of the pressure of political affairs on the peninsula of India.

The army intended for the invasion of Kandy was arranged in eight divisions, and commanded in the following manner :—

	Commanded by	To march from
1st Division,	Major Hook, 2d Ceylon regt.	Colombo.
2d Division, (reserve,)	Lt.-Col. O'Connell, 73d Foot	Colombo.
3d Division,	Major Kelly, 4th Ceylon regt.	Galle.
4th Division, (reserve,)	Colonel Murray, 4th Ceylon regt.	Galle.
5th Division,	Major D. M'Kay, 3d Ceylon regt.	Trincomalee.
6th Division, (reserve,)	Lt.-Colonel Rainsford, 19th Foot	Trincomalee.
7th Division,	Captain Anderson, 19th Foot	Batticallo.
8th Division,	Captain De Busche, 1st Ceylon regt.	Negombo.

Hostilities with the Kandyans having generally terminated very unfavourably for the invaders, this expedition was not popular either in the army or among any other class of the inhabitants. The coolies, or followers, who were forced to join the divisions, and em-

ployed to conduct bullocks, carry doolies, provisions, &c., greatly dreaded the consequences of the expedition.

"The aversion of the natives to serve as coolies in our armies is founded on very obvious reasons. The burdens which they are obliged to carry are heavy, and their progress consequently slow. They are frequently exposed to the galling fire, doubtful of being taken care of if wounded, and certain of being put to death if made prisoners. Their post is more dangerous than that of the fighting part of the army; while they are not, like soldiers, buoyed up by the prospect of any military advantage or preferment, or excited by the stimulus of fame." "The instant, therefore, it is known in any of the districts, that a native head man has received orders to *seize* a certain number of coolies, the villages are deserted by the lower class of the inhabitants, who, to avoid the police officers, conceal themselves in the forests."—(*Narrative of an Expedition to Kandy, &c., by Captain Johnston.*)

Early in the month of January 1815, Major Hook's division moved forward from Hangwelle to Avisahavilé, on the left bank of the Sitawaka river, the boundary of the Kandyan country; and, soon after, Mr D'Oyley arrived at that station, and remained with the troops as the commissioner of his Excellency the governor. Mr D'Oyley conducted the negotiations which were in progress to encourage the disaffected in the Kandyan provinces, and to promote rebellion against the Kandyan government.

During the afternoon of the 10th January, some of Eheylapola's adherents in the Three Corles, a district of the Kandyan country, had a hostile rencontre with a party of loyalists, which pursued the insurgents across the boundary river, within sight of Major Hook's camp; and,

during the affray, a cottage on the limits of our territory was set on fire; the latter circumstance, it is said, was quite accidental. The number of Kandyans who crossed the river did not exceed ten or twelve individuals; and they immediately retraced their steps into their own country, after the burning of the cottage.

Within a very brief period after it had been ascertained that a cottage in our territory had been set on fire, Major Hook received instructions from Mr D'Oyley to commence hostile operations. Preparations for that purpose were forthwith put in progress, and at daybreak on the morning of the 11th January, the division crossed the Sitawaka river and marched towards Ruangwelle, a post situated upon a point of land at the confluence of the Kalani Ganga and the Mahaoya, where it was ascertained that a large body of the loyalists was collected. In consequence of rugged roads and other causes, the troops did not reach the left bank of the Kalani Ganga until the afternoon. The enemy fired a few ginjals across the river; but, after four or five discharges from a small piece of ordnance, the British troops rapidly descended the precipitous bank, forded the river, and, by the time they reached the opposite bank, the Kandyans had fled. It was gratifying to see the promptitude displayed by the troops in fording the river, which is of considerable width, and was then about four or five feet deep.

His Excellency the governor having left Colombo on the evening of the 11th, joined the first division at Ruangwelle on the 12th January, and dined with the officers in a hut constructed of coco-nut leaves, (Cadjans.) Next day, the 13th, he returned to Colombo. While he was at Ruangwelle, a proclamation or declaration of war was issued, which, although it bears the date of 10th

January, did not appear till the 13th, two days after hostile operations had commenced. This proclamation, which was translated into the Singalese language for the purpose of being circulated in the Kandyan country, or, as may be said, among our unoffending neighbours, was also intended to inform the world in general, and the countries of the East in particular, for what reasons the local government had assumed a hostile attitude towards the Kandyan government. The principal reasons assigned for invading the country were the alleged tyranny and oppression of the Kandyan monarch, his unwillingness to enter into any terms with the representative of the British government, the mutilation of the ten cloth-merchants already mentioned, and the irruption of the Kandyans across the boundary river of Sitawaka, in pursuit of Eheylapola's fugitive adherents. The irruption of the Kandyan people into our territory had, it may be presumed, very little influence in occasioning the war—all the requisite preparations having been made long before it took place. Besides, the irruption in question was obviously so unpremeditated and accidental, and really of so contemptible a character, that it deserved no consideration. Major Hook, who saw the king's people wade the river after the fugitives, did not think it necessary to move a single man to repulse them. It may also be observed, that no opportunity was afforded the king to apologise for the alleged insult.

Avisahavilé being about 28 or 30 miles from Colombo, where the governor resided, he could not have heard of the alleged irruption of the royal forces into our territory before midnight, or early in the morning of the 11th, consequently, it is presumed that Mr D'Oyley had been invested with adequate authority to put the troops in

motion. It is obvious, at any rate, that the proclamation which was issued at Ruangwelle on the 13th, and which bears the date of the 10th January, could not have been printed before the 11th, embracing, as it does, an account of "the irruption of an armed Kandyan force into the British territory," in pursuit of a party of fugitive insurgents, during the afternoon of the 10th.

The object of the war is thus stated in the proclamation:—"For securing the permanent tranquillity of these settlements, and in vindication of the honour of the British name; for the deliverance of the Kandyan people from their oppressors; in fine, for the subversion of that Malabar dominion which, during three generations, has tyrannized over the country, his Excellency has resolved to employ the powerful resources placed at his disposal." —(*Vide* Appendix, No. VII.)

It appears not to have been at this time deemed expedient to promulgate the real object of the war, which was obviously to destroy the national existence of the Kandyan government altogether, and to annex the country to the British crown. The doctrine of our right to seize a territory which suited us, provided we could only find an excuse for quarrelling with those who ruled over it, has been seldom publicly avowed, however frequently it may have been acted upon. But there seems to be a great propensity in the Saxon race to seize or acquire the possessions of contiguous estates, without much reference to consistency, justice, or good faith.

An improvement of the condition of the inhabitants of a state, by delivering them from alleged oppression, is sometimes assigned as a pretext for subjugating and taking possession of a country; but perhaps the principle of kindness and humanity towards a people is very rarely indeed the real cause of war, professions of this

kind being frequently used as a cloak to cover visions of glory, renown, and grasping ambition.

Much is said in this proclamation of the barbarous or uncivilized character of the king, as if we were to constitute ourselves avengers or guardians of the globe, and make the infliction of punishment different from our own a pretext for war and conquest. The desire to possess the country opened our eyes to the delinquencies of its ruler; and, to justify aggression, it was deemed expedient to assail not only his character, but also the character of the Malabar dynasty, consisting of four sovereigns, each of whom had been freely elected by the chiefs and people. The Malabar kings were, it is believed, neither worse nor better than the general run of Asiatic princes, including the Kandyan or Singalese dynasty. Mankind are liable to be somewhat suspicious of the sincerity of the allegations of rulers who, after having made up their minds not only to conquer but to seize a country, profess to be impressed with a strong feeling of sympathy for the subjects of those termed by them oppressors, whose place they are anxious to occupy. Such points of international law as, What is a justifiable ground for declaring war? What territory a nation has a right to possess? What is a legitimate or humane mode of conducting war? &c., &c., are questions too often but little attended to, more especially in Oriental countries; the practice of nations being less influenced by the justice of their cause than by the relative strength of the disputing parties, and the prize that may be obtained—the expansion of territory.

The progress of the several divisions towards the town of Kandy, the capital of the kingdom, where it was intended they should all concentrate, was but partially

interrupted by the Kandyans. At the passage of the Maha Oya, at Idamalpáné, some show of resistance was made to the first division; but the enemy soon abandoned their position, and disappeared. Although they continued to fire occasionally upon this division throughout its progress to Kandy, not a man was either killed or wounded.

An attempt was made to surprise Molligodda, who commanded the royal forces on this line of road, and his palanquin was captured; but during the rencontre he escaped into the jungle, after having been wounded in one of his legs by a musket ball, which passed between the ankle and the *tendo Achilles.* Molligodda must have possessed considerable fortitude; for he came to Major Hook's camp at Attepetty on foot, late one night, disguised as a messenger from "Molligodda," only a few days after he had been wounded. He had a companion with him, who, by the deference he paid to the disguised Molligodda, convinced the Major that the messenger was not what he professed to be. Numerous communications were made to Major Hook by Molligodda and other chiefs, all professing their willingness to promote the advance of the British troops, provided they could do so without openly renouncing the Kandyan government. Considering the character of the people, and the circumstances in which they were placed, it is obvious that no dependence could be placed in their professions of attachment to the English. Fraud is ever the shield of the weak; and it was quite plain that the chiefs professed attachment to both parties, for the purpose of watching the issue of the contest, hoping by these means to escape the resentment of the belligerents. The king had obviously little or no confidence in the

loyalty of the chiefs. About this time, it is alleged, but upon what authority I am ignorant, that many of them wished for a revolution of the government, either from dislike to the king, or, perhaps, more probably for the purpose of getting rid of debts to his relations, from whom some of them had received large loans. Molligodda's debts alone amounted to 5000 pagodas, or about L.2000.

The result of the interview of Molligodda with Major Hook was, that the former promised to make as little opposition to the advance of the British troops as he could, consistently with the appearance of obeying the orders of his sovereign. With this view, he informed Major Hook that, although the people under his control would continue to fire upon his division, no bullets would be put in the firelocks.

During the march of the troops from Hettymoolé to Gannitenne, the Kandyans fired more than usual upon us from the jungle. The writer was walking with Major Hook at the head of the column, when we saw two Kandyans come out of the jungle into the pathway, about twenty-five or thirty yards before us. They both fired, and one ball struck the ground close to Major Hook's foot. He observed at the moment, "There has been a bullet in that musket." It was afterwards ascertained, that the party in question was not under the command of Molligodda; the men belonged to a party which had been placed under the command of another chief by the king, probably from some distrust which he entertained of the zeal or sincerity of Molligodda in his cause. This chief may therefore be acquitted of the charge of breaking his agreement with Major Hook.

Shortly after the troops had encamped, a messenger from a native chief waited upon Major Hook, having been sent to inform him where the men who had been firing upon the division intended to retire to during the night, and to volunteer to conduct a detachment of our troops to attack them. Major Hook was much puzzled to know how to act in regard to this message. He dreaded perfidy, and the danger to which a detachment might be exposed upon the service in question. He, however, finally determined to send a detachment of Malays and Sepoys, under the command of a captain and a subaltern, to surprise the Kandyan post, which was about five miles from the camp. Accordingly, a little before midnight, the detachment, with the guide, left the camp. The enemy's sentry was found asleep, and promptly secured, by which means the British troops were able to surround the house occupied by the Kandyans, before they were aware of their approach. The doors being shut, and strongly barricaded, it was deemed expedient by the officer who commanded the party, to set the thatch on fire, and to surround the house with his men. To escape from the flames, the Kandyans rushed out, and were met by a hedge of bayonets, through which they endeavoured to pass. The number of men in the house was stated to be about seventy or seventy-five; but how many perished in the flames, or were killed or wounded by the bayonet, was not ascertained. Major Hook, who did not by any means approve of the captain's conduct, reported the circumstance officially to head-quarters, exactly as it occurred. It is an observation of Bonaparte, that "Men should be firm in heart and in purpose, or they should have nothing to do with war or with government;" and

every day's experience confirms the truth of the remark. He who aspires to conquest, must not scruple in regard to the price of blood which success requires. In the conduct of war, troops usually consider the cause justifiable, and that all the measures which may appear to them necessary to the end are justifiable also.

Next morning, the writer of this Sketch visited the scene of slaughter, and brought away the wounded to the camp, for the purpose of their receiving medical assistance.*

In compliance with instructions received from head-quarters, Major Hook proceeded from Gannitenne, on the 1st February, along the western face of the Balany mountains, towards the principal road from the Seven Corles to Kandy, where, it was alleged, a large body of the enemy had been assembled; but no Kandyans in a hostile attitude were discovered. On the 3d February he proceeded to the strong passes or posts of Galgederah and Giriagamme, which were abandoned by the enemy after firing a few shots at the British troops. Here the division remained for several days, Major Hook not having received any specific instructions in regard to future movements.

On the 2d February, the advance of the second divi-

* One of the wounded had a large flap of the integuments of the head hanging over his right ear, and to the inside of this flap a portion of the cranium, about the size of a half-crown piece, was attached. The *dura mater* did not seem to have been materially injured. This man had been struck on the head with a sabre, by which the skull was divided; whether or not he recovered the writer is uninformed.

Captain De Bussche, in his "Letters on Ceylon," states, that on this occasion "thirty of the enemy were put to the bayonet, and three prisoners and twenty stand of arms were brought in."

sion, under Major Moffat, passed through the Balany Pass, and encamped on the heights near to Amunapura. To allow time for the divisions from Trincomalee, Galle, &c., to approach near to Kandy for the purpose of intercepting the king, should he retreat eastward, it was deemed expedient to halt the first and second divisions for a few days. On the 6th February, Gannitenne became the head-quarters of the army, General Brownrigg, who left Colombo on the 1st February, having joined the second division.

About this time, Molligodda, by a message through Mr D'Oyley, requested permission to surrender himself, with the banners and records of the Four Corles, of which he was dissave, he having received intimation of the escape of his family from Kandy. The governor's consent having been given, Molligodda came into camp on the 8th February, attended by a number of chiefs, and formally gave up the insignia and records of his dissavony into the hands of Mr D'Oyley, who had been deputed as commissioner, by the governor, to confer with the adikar.

Molligodda having made his submission to the governor's commissioner, proposed, in retiring, to pay a visit to Eheylapola, who was, at that time, near to head-quarters. The visitor introduced himself with an explanation that he was a ruined man. "What, then, am I?" said Eheylapola. Both chiefs, it is said, burst into tears, having probably anticipated what promptly took place—the deposition of the king, and, as a consequence of that event, an extinction of the native government, together with an end of their rank and influence.

On the 10th February, the second division, with General Brownrigg, moved forwards to Amunapura.

Intelligence was received on the 11th, that the king had left Kandy, and, on the 14th February, the second division took possession of the capital, which was found nearly deserted by the inhabitants ; on the 15th, the first division crossed the Maha Villa Ganga by the Kattughastotte Ferry, and encamped in the immediate vicinity of the town.

Shortly after the tents of this division had been pitched, the writer of this Sketch was addressed in English by a brown-coloured man in the native costume. Upon inquiry, it was ascertained that his name was Thomas Thoen, a German by birth ; that he belonged to the Bengal Artillery, and accompanied the expedition to Kandy in 1803, and that he was a patient in hospital when Major Davie capitulated to the Kandyans on the 24th June. When he was asked how he had retained a knowledge of the English language, having for such a number of years associated with Kandyans only, " I, being a foreigner," said he, " never could speak the English language correctly; but having found a few leaves of an English Bible, belonging to one of the soldiers, I read them occasionally, and, by that means, preserved some acquaintance with the language." The writer conducted him to Major Hook, by whom he was conveyed to head-quarters, and introduced to his Excellency.

Of the sick who were left in the hospital on the capitulation of Kandy in June 1803, Thomas Thoen was the only one who escaped with his life. Along with the other patients, he received a blow with the butt-end of a musket, which felled him senseless to the ground, and he was thrown among the dead. Having recovered from the effects of the blow, he crawled to a place of conceal-

ment in the neighbourhood, but being discovered next day, was hung up to the branch of a tree. The rope, however, broke, and he fell to the ground; he was again suspended, the people left him, and again the rope broke. He contrived to find his way to a hut at no great distance, where he continued for ten days, without any other sustenance than the grass which grew near the door of the hut, and the rain which dropped through apertures of the roof. At the expiration of the above period, an old woman entered the hut, but, seeing Thoen, instantly disappeared. To his great surprise, she soon after returned, bringing with her a dish containing a quantity of dressed rice, which she left on the ground, and went away. Next morning Thoen was taken before the king, who, struck with the singularity of his fate, observed that it was not for man to injure one who was so evidently the favourite of Heaven. The king then ordered that he should be supplied with food, giving him, at the same time, in charge of one of the chiefs, with strict injunctions to treat him with kindness and attention. A house was allotted to him in Kandy; and he, after some time, married the daughter of a Moorman, a circumstance which, he told the writer, contributed greatly to his comfort. He was never permitted to see Major Davie; and it is alleged that a woman who had conveyed a message from Thoen to the Major was put to death. General Brownrigg appointed Thoen to a suitable situation in Galle, where he soon after died.

Information having been obtained that the king was still at no great distance from the capital, no time was lost in adopting means to intercept his retreat to some distant province, more especially to the province of Uwa. A detachment of troops, accompanied by Mr D'Oyley and

Eheylapola, was, on the 16th, despatched to the district of Doombera, whither it was presumed the king had retired. On the 18th, the king was taken prisoner, with two of his wives, in the house of a subordinate head man, about a mile beyond Medda Maha Nuwera. His two remaining wives and his mother were at Hangwelle, a short distance off; and being sent for, with conveyances and an escort, were brought to Teldinya to join the king. It appears that the few Malabar attendants remaining with the king made some resistance, and wounded one of the assailants under the command of Eheylapola, on which the party fired upon the house. The king then appeared, and delivered himself up. His pursuers forthwith bound and plundered him of whatever articles of value he had in his possession.*

Next morning, Mr D'Oyley found him in company with his mother, his wives, and other members of his family, who were all in great consternation and affliction, fearing that some greater evil might befall them. Mr D'Oyley assured them that they should be treated with respect and attention. The king was, at first, reserved; but being informed that he should meet with kind treatment, he betrayed evident signs of emotion, and taking the hands of his aged mother and four wives, he presented them in succession to Mr D'Oyley, and recommended them, in the most solemn and affecting manner, to his protection.

The report of the capture of the king reached General Brownrigg on the 19th, while he was at dinner with a small party of officers. The intelligence being highly

* Despatch from General Brownrigg to Lord Bathurst, bearing date 25th February 1815.—*(Annual Register.)*

gratifying, and in many respects of the utmost importance, his Excellency became greatly affected. He stood up at table, and, while the tears rolled down his cheeks, shook hands with every one present, and thanked them for their exertions in furtherance of an object which seemed to be nearly accomplished, and which had been vainly attempted for nearly three centuries by three European powers in succession—the conquest of the kingdom of Kandy.* "From this day," says Knighton, "we may date the extinction of Ceylonese independence, an independence which had continued without any material interruption for 2357 years."—*Knighton*, p. 325.

It having been deemed inexpedient, for many reasons, to bring the king to the capital, measures were adopted to send him, under a strong escort, to Colombo, without passing through Kandy. The charge of the royal prisoner was intrusted to Major Hook, the sense of whose services during the campaign it was intended to mark by this selection. On the 6th March, the king and his family arrived at Colombo, where they were received by Colonel Kerr, the commandant of the garrison, with the respect due to their fallen fortunes. The prison or house provided for him was spacious, and handsomely fitted up. He was obviously well pleased with his new abode, and upon entering it, observed, "As I am no longer permitted to be a king, I am thankful for the kindness and attention which have been shown to me."

Immediately after the capture of the king, measures were put in progress for permanently settling the government of the newly acquired territory. The proclama-

* The writer of this Sketch happened to be sitting beside his Excellency the Governor on this occasion.

tion which his Excellency had issued at the commencement of the war, promised to the chiefs a continuance of their respective ranks and dignities; to the people, relief from all arbitrary severities and oppressions; and to all classes, the inviolate maintenance of their religion, and the preservation of their ancient laws and institutions; and it was now deemed expedient to convoke an assembly of the head men, for the purpose of affixing their signature to a convention, which was to secure to the British government the possession of the kingdom of Kandy.

As a preliminary measure to the signing of a convention, an official declaration of the appropriation of the Kandyan provinces by the English government was promulgated. The commencement of this declaration was supposed to bear some resemblance to the style of the letter addressed by Bonaparte to George the Third personally, under the title of "Sir and Brother."* The declaration began as follows:—"Led by the invitation of the chiefs, and welcomed by the acclamations of the people, the forces of his Britannic Majesty have entered the Kandyan territory, and penetrated to the capital. Divine Providence has blessed their efforts with uniform and complete success. The ruler of the interior provinces has fallen into their hands, and the government remains at the disposal of his Majesty's representatives." The document then goes on to enumerate in detail the king's alleged delinquencies, and concludes with the following paragraph:—"Contemplating these atrocities, the im-

* Bonaparte commenced his letter, which was dated the 2d day of January 1805, in the following terms:—"Called to the throne of France by Providence and the suffrages of the senate, the people, and the army," &c.

possibility of establishing with such a man any civilized relations either of peace or war ceases to be a subject of regret, since his Majesty's arms, hitherto employed in the generous purpose of relieving the oppressed, would be tarnished and disgraced in being instrumental to the restoration of a dominion exercised in a perpetual outrage to everything which is sacred in the constitution or functions of a legitimate government."—(*Vide* Appendix, No. VIII.)

On these grounds a solemn conference or convention was held in the audience-hall of the palace of Kandy, on the 2d March, between his Excellency the governor, on behalf of his Majesty and of his Royal Highness the Prince Regent, on the one part, and the adikars, dissaves, and other principal chiefs of the Kandyan provinces, as alleged, on the other part, on behalf of the people.

As has been already stated, the conference was held in the great hall of audience in the palace; but the governor declined using the adjoining room, where the king usually sat, cross-legged, on an elevated throne on occasions of ceremony, and chose to be placed within the hall, at the upper end, with his back to the door of that room, which was divided off by a screen.

The troops composing the garrison of Kandy, together with the corps of Ceylon Light Dragoons, which had been brought to Kandy for the occasion, were drawn up at three o'clock in the great square before the palace, forming a lane through which the adikars and principal chiefs passed to the hall.

The conference was conducted with great ceremony. Eheylapola, a remarkably fine, intelligent-looking man, was the first who entered the hall of the palace. He was received with particular marks of respect by his

Excellency, and seated on a chair on his right hand. Molligodda, who had been appointed first adikar, then came forward, leading in the dissaves of provinces, and other principal chiefs, about twenty in number. The governor rose up to receive them, and, with Eheylapola, continued standing throughout the conference. The hall was lined on both sides by British officers.

The conference began with complimentary inquiries on the part of the chiefs, which were graciously answered by the governor, and mutual inquiries made. His Excellency thanked the dissaves for the attention paid to the troops, in their progress to the capital, which gave occasion to the chiefs to observe, that they considered them as protectors, and that, by the arrival of his Excellency and the army, they had been rescued from tyranny and oppression.

The governor observed, he was gratified in having been the means of their deliverance; he assured them of full protection in their persons, their property, and all their rights; and added, that while he had the honour of holding the administration of the island, it would be his study to make them experience the blessings of his Majesty's benign government.

It was then intimated to the chiefs, that a document had been prepared, expressive of the principles by which the administration of his Majesty's government of the Kandyan provinces would be guided, and that it was about to be read, which they requested might be done.

The document in question—or treaty, as it has been called—was read in English by Mr Sutherland, Deputy-Secretary to government, and afterwards in Singalese. His Excellency's part of the conference was communicated to Mr D'Oyley, and by him to Molligodda adikar, who delivered it aloud to the audience.

Millawa, Dissave of Velassy, was the organ of the assembly: he seemed to collect the sentiments of the chiefs generally in silence, but with occasional explanation, and delivered them to Molligodda.* Eheylapola, though not officially engaged in the conference, appeared to take an interest in what was going on. His carriage was distinguished by a courtly address, politeness, and ease, and he appeared to be regarded by the assembled chiefs with a high degree of deference and respect.

After the treaty was read in Singalese, the Adikar Molligodda, and the other chiefs, proceeded to the principal door of the hall, where the Mohottales, Coraals, Vidaans, and other subordinate head men from the different provinces, were attending, accompanied with a few followers; and the head men being called upon by the adikar to range themselves in order, according to their respective districts, the treaty was again read in

* Millawa was, in several respects, one of the most distinguished among the chiefs assembled on this occasion. He was thus described by a gentleman present:—"His figure, the tallest of the chiefs, was erect and portly; a high, prominent forehead, a full eye, and a strong expression of natural vivacity, tempered with the gravity of advanced age, marked by a long, full, and graceful white beard, and the whole, combined with his rich state-dress, formed a subject for a portrait truly worthy of an able hand." He was a great favourite of the deposed king, and remained with him till a late period. He had excellent natural talents, and was distinguished for sagacity and acuteness of intellect. He lived in a state of poliandry, he and his brother having one wife in common. This species of marriage is not confined to any rank or caste of the Singalese, being more or less frequent amongst both rich and poor. The apology of the poor is, that they cannot afford each to have a particular wife, while the rich say that such a union connects families, and concentrates property. The joint-husbands are generally, if not always, brothers. The children call the elder brother "great papa," and the younger, "little papa." The venerable Millawa having been suspected of favouring the revolt which broke out in 1817, was arrested and confined at Colombo, where he died a state-prisoner in 1822.

Singalese, at the conclusion of which, the British flag was hoisted for the first time in the town of Kandy, and a royal salute from the cannon, which had with infinite labour been dragged up the hills, announced his Majesty George the Third sovereign of the whole Island of Ceylon. That portion of the population which had returned to the town of Kandy evinced no concern in the business which was going on in the palace. They did not leave their ordinary avocations even to look at the troops which were assembled, in review order, in the great square before the audience hall. Apparently, they regarded the transfer of the government from an Oriental to a European dynasty with perfect indifference.

By this so-called treaty, or proclamation, it was declared, "that the Rajah Sri Wickreme Rajah Singha, by the habitual violation of the chief and most sacred duties of a sovereign, has forfeited all claims to that title, or the powers annexed to the same, and is declared fallen and deposed from the office of king; his family and relatives, whether in the ascending, descending, or collateral line, and whether by affinity or blood, are also for ever excluded from the throne." This is probably a singular instance of a regular treaty between a sovereign of one country and the unauthorised chiefs of another, to deprive a king of his throne, and for ever to exterminate his dynasty, on account of the imputed severities of his government. The treaty itself is a virtual acknowledgment, on the part of the British government, that "a habitual violation of the chief and most sacred duties of a sovereign" constitutes a forfeiture of sovereignty. It also declared, "that the dominion of the Kandyan provinces is vested in the sovereign of the British empire, and to be exercised through his accredited agents, leaving to the chiefs

appointed by authority, the rights and privileges of their respective offices, and to all classes of the people the safety of their persons and property, with all their civil rights and immunities, according to the laws, institutions, and customs, established and in force among them;" and, further, that "the religion of Boodhoo, professed by the chiefs and inhabitants of the Kandyan provinces, is declared inviolable, and its rites, ministers, and places of worship, are to be maintained and protected."—(*Vide* Appendix IX.)

It was rumoured at the time, that the alleged treaty was drawn up with sufficient care not to infringe certain prejudices of the chiefs, the indulgence of which was understood to be a *sine qua non* of their professed submission to a European power. Among these prejudices, perhaps, the preservation of the religion of Boodhoo was considered of the highest importance, and another, hardly inferior in their estimation, was the recognition and continuance of their local institutions.

By this memorable proclamation or convention, it appears that the English government recognises and adopts the principle of making sovereigns accountable for their abuse of the power intrusted to them, the King of Kandy being, according to the Edinburgh Review, *dethroned* for misgovernment, *cashiered* for offences committed against his subjects, *called to account* for his actions, and *punished* for abuse of power.—*Edinburgh Review*, vol. xxvi. page 439.

Thus did the British government, by the right of conquest, assume, without reservation, the same arbitrary and absolute authority over the destinies of the Kandyan people, which had, by immemorial usage, been possessed by the despotic monarchs of Kandy.

The Kandyan chiefs appear to have tacitly acquiesced

in the usual unlimited assumption of power which conquest is presumed to confer in India. Few persons present at the solemn conference gave the chiefs credit for acting with sincerity and honesty of purpose in lending their sanction to a transfer of the dominion of the Kandyan provinces to the sovereign of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, it being generally believed that in seeming to do so, they submitted with reluctance, but with admirable grace, to the force of circumstances, and did as they were desired, leaving to time the development of the result. The Kandyans, it may be observed, considered all innovation as subversive of their ancient government, which, as in like cases, was in their estimation the best of all possible constitutions. As to the reason assigned for seizing the country, namely, to relieve the inhabitants from oppression, it may be observed, that civilized nations assume a sort of inherent right to regulate the policy of the more barbarous communities, humanity being frequently assigned as the pretext for subjugating a country, while conquest is the real and ultimate object of commencing hostilities. There seems to be room to suspect some lurking fallacy in an argument which gives a specious colour of humanity and beneficence to the gratification of a passion so strong and so general as the love of conquest.

Thus ended for the time Eheylapola's prospects of becoming sovereign of Kandy. His main object in persuading General Brownrigg to invade the Kandyan country was, it is presumed, that he should himself be raised to the throne, which he expected to hold by the protection of the British power. It will readily be conceived that he felt much disappointed, when General Brownrigg promulgated his determination to annex the kingdom of Kandy to the British empire. He con-

ducted himself, however, with much dignity and decorum. He declined official employment, preferring, as he alleged, to live in retirement, having solicited only the title of *The Friend of the British Government.* He married again, and resided in Kandy, where he lived in considerable state, and was regarded by the natives as the great chief of the country. He was universally admitted to be the most talented of all the Kandyan chiefs.

The deposed king, as has been stated, reached Colombo on the 6th March, where he remained until the 24th January 1816, when he and all his relations, dependents, and adherents, amounting to about 100 individuals, were transferred to the peninsula of India, first to Madras, and finally to the fort of Vellore.

Sri Wickreme Rajah Singha, the deposed King of Kandy, was about five feet nine or ten inches in height, slightly corpulent, stoutly made, and muscular. He had a pleasant expression of countenance, a handsome beard, broad shoulders, and a full chest. His figure was manly, and his general appearance dignified. He did not appear to the writer to be deficient in intellect, and was generally much more affable and good-humoured than could be expected of a deposed king in a state of confinement. Having been placed on the throne by a professed friend, but in reality an inveterate intriguing enemy, for the intriguer's own aggrandizement, his situation as king was attended with insuperable difficulties. Like a man blindfolded and in fetters, he could neither see nor move but as the adikar directed him. With a faithless minister, and a powerful ambitious hostile neighbour, who was ever ready to encourage traitors, provided he might benefit by the treason, his throne was surrounded by the most embarrassing per-

plexities,—difficulties which would have required a person of great natural talents to surmount. The character of a native sovereign is so much influenced by that of the people over whom he rules, and particularly by the personal qualities of the persons by whom he governs, together with the circumstances under which he is placed, that it is often difficult to discover or to appreciate his natural disposition.

For some time after the king's inauguration, he is represented to have been the agent or tool of Pilimi Talawa; and, in subserviency to the ambition or vengeance of this minister, he was, it is alleged, easily induced to sanction very unwarrantable measures. With respect to the savage massacre of the British troops in 1803, it is possible that Pilimi Talawa was a much more influential agent in carrying it into effect than the king. Major Beaver, who was in Ceylon at the time, and confidentially employed by the Honourable Mr North, asserts that "the adikar was the planner and perpetrator of the atrocious butchery—a fact acknowledged by the king himself." The adikar, from his station at court, had evidently the power of issuing what mandates he pleased, and preventing any complaints from reaching the throne, on which account it is difficult to appreciate the merits or demerits of the king.

Not having a minister in whom he could place any confidence, he lived under the constant fear of conspiracies. Until he was made a prisoner, he said, he had never retired to rest without the dread of assassination. Fear produces oppression, and oppression excites fear. He trusted none of his courtiers; and it is doubtful if any one of the chiefs deserved his confidence. He punished traitors as traitors are generally punished, namely, with merciless severity; and, being a passionate

man, it is alleged he was liable to condemn the accused without adequate investigation. "The English governors," said he to Major Hook, "have an advantage over us in Kandy; they have counsellors about them, who never allow them to do any thing in a passion, and that is the reason you have so few punishments; but, unfortunately for us, the offender is dead before our resentment has subsided."

It may be observed, that, horrible as his punishments were, they were much in the ordinary course of things under Oriental despotisms, where subjects are beheaded, impaled, or mutilated, at their rulers' caprice, as easily as the subjects of one European country are transported, in another, imprisoned, or flogged. However revolting the barbarous punishments of some countries in the East may be, they are as much established by custom and immemorial usage, and are as *constitutional* and as much authorised by the royal *prerogative*, as the milder forms of misgovernment are in the West. The king, when he was deposed, was not judged according to the principles of his own country and state of society; he was judged by the humane and enlightened principles of a more civilized region of the world—for misbehaving, in fact, beyond the limits of European toleration.—*Edinburgh Review*, vol. xxvi.

To enable the reader to judge fairly and impartially of the character of the King of Kandy, he should be tried by the standard of his own country, by the spirit of the Kandyan government, and the usages of Oriental despotisms, together with the circumstances in which he was placed. These conditions must be properly understood, before a correct estimate can be made of the real merits of his case. Like Peter the Great of Russia, he was "a despot by condition and necessity." Even

among the despotic governments of civilized Europe, some sovereigns have committed atrocious acts of oppression and cruelty, without being considered unworthy to retain their crown. Frederick II. of Prussia, in some respects, evinced as much inhumanity, perhaps I may say as much barbarity, in punishing alleged delinquents, as has been recorded of Oriental despots. Without any previous examination by legal authority, a secular clergyman was hanged, and the Governor of Spandau was beheaded on the authority of a mere order by him. These and many other acts of similar atrocity were ordered by a European despot, whom the world dignifies with the title of "Great;" "a title," says Lord Brougham, "which is the less honourable, that mankind have generally agreed to bestow it upon those to whom their gratitude was least of all due."

Some of the king's most severe measures, it is alleged, were ordered to be carried into effect while he was in a state of inebriety, he having become liable to paroxysms of intemperance; and, from the great quantity of Hoffman's cherry brandy bottles found in the palace, it may be inferred that he was fond of that *liqueur*.

The crouching obeisance paid to the king was a part and parcel of the institutions and usages of the Kandyan court. The manners and customs of one court differ from those of another without any reference to the individual character of the reigning sovereign. In this country, courtiers leave the royal presence moving backwards; whereas, in Kandy, they had, from time immemorial, retired on all-fours.

The king devoted much of his time to business and to hearing causes in litigation, his leisure being spent in listening to music and in superintending his artists and workmen, a large number of whom he employed in

beautifying his grounds, and in decorating his palace and city.

He was unpopular among the chiefs, but not among the middle and lower classes of his subjects, whose rights and privileges he frequently defended against the injustice and oppression of the aristocracy or nobles. By protecting the poorer classes against their tyranny and extortion, he created formidable opponents—enemies whose ambition, resentment, and influence, he could not effectually restrain, and whose vengeance led to his deposition.

"It has been frequently stated, that the king had, by his tyranny, forfeited the loyalty and attachment of the great body of the people, but this imputation is not well-founded. His quarrels were with the chiefs, and the chiefs alone; and, perhaps, the circumstance which particularly rendered him obnoxious to the hatred of the chiefs, was the disposition he evinced of a determination to protect the people from the oppression of the aristocracy, the real tyrants of the country."—*Simon Sawers' MS. Notes on the Conquest of Kandy.*

Whatever information we possess in regard to the King of Kandy, has been obtained chiefly from adverse parties, who may have magnified his vices, without considering the condition of Kandyan society, or giving him due credit for the difficulties of his situation, and the praiseworthy disposition he displayed towards the subordinate classes of his subjects. It is said that he administered justice with great impartiality, except in cases of treason or suspected treason, when all the severities of Oriental despotism were put in force. He has been accused of ingratitude towards Pilimi Talawa, to whom he owed the crown of Kandy; but, considering the object the adikar had in elevating him to the throne,

and his long course of treasonable conduct, it may be asked, Was any gratitude due to him? Cordiner characterises him, on his elevation to the throne, as "a young Malabar, of inferior extraction, and no talents." He was a cadet of the royal house of Madura; and although, at eighteen years of age, Pilimi Talawa presumed that his abilities were of an inferior order, experience proved that he had sufficient talent to control for a considerable period the turbulent chiefs of the country, and to bring the head of this ambitious, unprincipled traitor to the block.

The predominating feeling of his mind, after he was made a prisoner, was indignation at the treatment he had received from his own subjects, more especially the chiefs. "Take care," said he, "of Eheylapola and Molligodda; they deceived me, and they will deceive you." He gave government an account of the places where his treasure was hidden; observing, that it mattered little what became of it, provided the chiefs and people did not benefit by his property. He did not generally show any reluctance to discuss Kandyan matters. The writer of this Sketch, who had been requested to visit him professionally, found him frank and affable, and willing to converse upon any subject which was started. In the course of conversation, he observed,— "Had my people behaved as they ought to have done, I would have shown you whether I was a man or a woman. Twice during my reign have you obtained possession of the town of Kandy, and twice have you been very glad to get out of it." *Writer:* "Your people, it is true, did not make much resistance on some of the routes to the capital; but the force in the Three and Four Corles behaved tolerably well." *King:* "It is of no use to talk of the taste of food after

it is in the belly." The king then asked the writer a number of questions, such as, How long he had been in Ceylon? How far he had come? How long he had been on board ship? And for what purpose he had left Europe? *Writer:* "I belong to the medical department of the army, and my duties are chiefly to take care of sick soldiers." *King:* "You must be a good man, to travel so far for so commendable a purpose. Would you like to be at home?" *Writer:* "Yes." *King:* "Think what is the exact form of your house; is it square or round?" *Writer:* "My house is square." *King:* "Then you are at home, your thoughts being there; the mind is of the first moment—the body, though absent, being of comparatively little importance." In the course of conversation he entered upon a discussion in regard to the cause of thunder and lightning. Some allusion having been made to the severity of the king's punishments, he rather testily observed, "I governed my kingdom according to the Shasters"—Hindoo or Brahminical law-books, of which the Institutes of Manu are said to have obtained the highest reputation. Manu professes to have great confidence in the utility of punishments. "Punishment," says he, "governs all mankind; punishment alone preserves them; punishment wakes, while their guards are asleep. The wise consider punishment as the perfection of justice. * * * The whole race of men is kept in order by punishment, for a guiltless man is hard to be found."—*Laws of Manu.*

On the 24th January 1816, the king, with his family, embarked at Colombo, on board H. M. ship Cornwallis, for Madras. He was taken to the water side in the governor's carriage, and his ladies were accommodated with palanquins. They were closely veiled as they went into the boat; and, during their embarkation, which

took up some time, the king stood by and assisted by giving orders to his own people, with much composure and presence of mind. He was very handsomely dressed, and his large trousers drawn close upon his ankles, reminded the spectators of the figure of Rajah Singha, as given by Knox. The king embarked, with his wives and mother-in-law, in the captain's barge, and the attendants in another. The wind was high, and the boats encountered a good deal of sea in their passage to the ship. They were all taken into the ship by means of an accommodation-chair. Some of the ladies were greatly alarmed, while others suffered much from sea-sickness. The king showed no indication of fear; and, considering that he was carried through a rough sea, which he had not been upon since his infancy, to an English man-of-war, which he had not seen before, it must be acknowledged that his whole deportment indicated considerable dignity and firmness of mind.

He died at Vellore, on the afternoon of the 30th of January 1832, aged 52 years, having been seventeen years a state prisoner. At the desire of the family, the body was conveyed to the place of burning before sunset, under the escort of a military guard, and accompanied by his male relatives and servants.

From the commencement of the month in which he died, the reports of the native medical attendants respecting his health were considered very unsatisfactory; and he was visited by Mr Reid, an English surgeon, who found him afflicted with general dropsy. He at first consented to abide by Mr Reid's prescriptions, but afterwards declined his assistance, and again called in his native doctors.

He left one son, born in exile.

The administration of the Kandyan provinces, under

the local government, was conducted by a Board established at Kandy, consisting of a resident, a judicial commissioner, and a revenue commissioner, together with the commanding officer of the troops in the interior. This Board, with the adikars and the principal chiefs, formed the great court of justice, from whose sentence there was no appeal except to the governor. Besides the Board, and subordinate agents of government in Uwa, Saffragam, and the Three Corles, the civil authority of the country was exercised, as formerly, by the native dissaves and Ratemahatmeyas.

The military force which was kept in the interior amounted to 1700 or 1800 men, who were stationed at about eleven different posts.

Molligodda, the obsequious minister of the deposed king, and the active promoter of some of his most indefensible measures, was, as has been already stated, confirmed in the high office of first adikar. Eheylapola, to whom this appointment was offered, begged to decline the situation.

Little of any importance took place in the newly acquired provinces from this period till the month of October 1817, when an insurrection occurred, which required all the power of the British government to suppress.

For many reasons, the Kandyans of all grades disliked the English. Differing in race, language, religion, customs, habits, and modes of thinking, the British rule could not but be for a long time highly unpalatable to them. Under the former government, the chiefs were presumed to patronize the poorer classes, who were in their turn gratified with the regard and countenance of the comparatively wealthy. But there was no habitual sympathy between the English and the different ranks of Kandyans—no community of feeling; indeed, many cir-

cumstances were of a repulsive nature. In the administration of justice the English authorities did not recognise any distinction of caste, or any privileged class. They were as ready to hear the complaints of the poor as of the rich, by which the advantages of the wealthy were curtailed, and the long recognised privileges of caste disregarded.

The vices of the Kandyan courts, comprehending the undue privileges of caste or office, and the corruption and venality of the chiefs, were not so intolerable to the people, who were creatures of the system, as they appear to us. The change being abrupt, the population in general did not appreciate the alleged advantages, while the chiefs were very sensible of their loss of emoluments and eclipsed dignity.

The Kandyans used to inquire when the English intended to return to the maritime provinces. "You have now," said one, "deposed the king, and nothing more is required—you may leave us." The people showed no dislike to us individually, but as a nation they abhorred us. They seemed to entertain a superstitious notion, that the English could not live in the Kandyan territory. They made no complaint of oppression or misrule, contenting themselves with expressing a wish that we should leave the country. Conversing on this subject, a subordinate chief observed to an officer, that the British rule in the Kandyan country was as incompatible as yoking a buffalo and a cow in the same plough. No nation or class of people ever suddenly renounced their prejudices, and adopted the habits and modes of thinking of another nation, even under favourable circumstances; and still less is it likely that a vanquished people will love and esteem a nation by whom they have been subjugated.

The author of "*A Narrative of Events which have occurred in Ceylon*," alleges, that when General Brownrigg invaded the kingdom of Kandy, he concluded "that a people long oppressed could not but wish for deliverance; he felt that the natives of the interior could not but contrast the mildness and justice of British government with the remorseless and unrelenting despotism of their own." We do not, however, see this sentiment often verified by experience in India or any where else. It is never safe or wise to reason on the conduct of a people widely different from ourselves in religion and manners, upon the same principles which govern the policy of Christian States. Nations usually regret the intervention of professed friends in their quarrels, and they have commonly ample cause to do so. The Kandyans had grown up under an unlimited monarchy, they knew nothing of government but the dependence of the governed upon the will of one person, and were, from tradition and habit, attached to it. Governments and governed are commonly more or less mutually adapted to each other; they become in some degree identified. A despot is admitted to be, in a certain sense, a possessor of unlimited power, which he may employ in the oppression of his subjects, but it is not necessary that he should do so. The British government assumed the despotism of the fallen monarch; the people having no legal power to control the decrees of the governor more than they had to modify the orders of the king. One despotism had given place to another; in practice, the common people found that the alleged moderation of the English government differed very little from the exactions of their former ruler. However just the administration of the local government may have been, it was not liked; it was a foreign yoke, and for that,

and other causes, was regarded with aversion by all classes and ranks of the people. Besides, the Kandyans had been long taught to hate the government of the maritime provinces, and they had abundant reason to entertain hostile feelings towards it, the two powers having been little at peace for nearly 300 years.

To an unlimited despotism, the Kandyans had voluntarily submitted for many ages, and, although unrestricted, the government had been generally exercised in accordance with certain recognised usages under an implied obligation to act for the good of the governed. The chiefs reprobated any change in the forms of government, and the common people appeared to consider an alteration of their institutions as downright impiety. Personal consideration was the chief purpose of life, and political power the sole object of ambition of a Kandyan chief. According to the condition of society, he could not achieve elevation either by superior knowledge or by wealth, and hence the anxiety of the factitiously ennobled to preserve their comparative elevation in society by the privileges of rank, and by assuming a superiority over the humbler class of the population.

Dr Davy, who had peculiar opportunities of obtaining information respecting Kandyan affairs, thus describes the feelings of the people towards their British rulers: "There was no sympathy between us and them, no one circumstance to draw or bring us together, and innumerable ones of a repulsive nature. The chiefs, though less controlled than under the king, and exercising more power in their districts than they ever before ventured to exert, were far from satisfied. Before, no one but the king was above them, now they were inferior to every civilian in our service—to every officer in our

army. Though officially treated with respect, it was only officially, as common soldiers passed a proud Kandyan chief with as little attention as he would a fellow of the lowest caste. Thus they considered themselves degraded and shorn of their splendour. The people, in general, had similar feelings on this score, at least the respectable and most considerable portion of the population." * * * *

"These are a few only of the leading circumstances which tended to render the natives averse from us and our government, and anxious to attempt to throw it off."—(*Account of the Interior of Ceylon*, page 326.)

It is not sufficient that a government is just, it must also be palatable; and to render a subjugated people, more especially an Oriental people, submissive and contented subjects, is a matter of some difficulty. Connected with our own interest, we may endeavour to promote their welfare, but if, in doing so, we offend their prejudices, we shall find that it is an arduous task to legislate for a people against their own will. Mankind adhere to their usages and customs with more tenacity than to their laws, and a subjugated people will bear oppression with more resignation than contempt. Indeed, it has been sagaciously observed, that "perhaps the worst enemy to human interests is the man who would endeavour to force a law, even good in itself, upon a society that had not become sufficiently advanced to be prepared for its reception."

Notwithstanding the antipathy with which the English were regarded by the Kandyans, the people were not, generally, prepared to submit to the regal control of one of their own chiefs. Mutual jealousy among the wealthy families apparently prevented the formation of a formidable conspiracy for the purpose of expelling the English.

Eheylapola, although he was universally admitted to be an able and talented chief, had no great or general ascendancy over the other chiefs, excepting with the head men and people of the province of Saffragam, who had previously come forward in his cause. The principal chiefs would, apparently, rather accede for a time, at least, to the rule of the British government, than promote Eheylapola's ambitious views of assuming sovereign power. When the insurrection broke out in October 1817, there is every reason for believing that no organized conspiracy against the English existed among any class of the inhabitants of the Kandyan country: but uniformity of feeling supplied the place of organization; they all wished to be quit of us.

"That the establishment of the British power over the Kandyan chiefs of all grades, from the highest to the lowest, would be very unpalatable and galling, was quite obvious to any one acquainted with the feelings and customs of the people. The chiefs and higher classes of the Kandyans were greatly offended at what we called the impartial administration of justice, whereby the privileges and civil distinctions of caste were practically extinguished; but however general this inimical feeling to the English was throughout the whole country, it was not sufficiently strong to subdue the jealousy of the chiefs towards each other. In short, the outbreak of the rebellion in the province of Velassy was purely accidental, and the chiefs and people of the other provinces were as much taken by surprise as were the English authorities."—(*Simon Sawers' MS. Notes.*)

On this occasion, the Kandyan population rose against the British government, probably more from ancient habits and obedience to their chiefs, or from fear of their neighbours who had revolted, than from any well-

digested principle of independence, or any intention to emancipate themselves from the thraldom of *Rajecaria*, (compulsory labour,) the principal exaction of which they complained.

On the 5th of August 1817, Sir Robert and Lady Brownrigg left Colombo, for the purpose of proceeding to Trincomalee by the way of Kandy. Sir Robert was met at Gonarooa Ferry, two or three miles from Kandy, by a large concourse of chiefs and numerous followers, in great state, and no reception could be more gratifying. The governor remained in Kandy, transacting business, until the 26th September, when he continued his journey with Lady Brownrigg, and on the 3d October the party arrived at Trincomalee.

The Velassy Moormen, an active, enterprising body of Kandyan merchants, were the first portion of the population of the newly-acquired territory who became useful to the English, more especially by furnishing carriage-cattle to the commissariat, for the purpose of conveying stores and provisions from the coast stations. This class of the population formed an intermediate link between the traders in the maritime district of Batticallo and the interior provinces. They supplied, for example, almost all the salt which was used in the Kandyan country, and as this was an expensive article, being monopolized and highly taxed by government, the traders required to possess a considerable amount of capital. Although the Moormen had petty head men of their own caste, they were, like the other classes of inhabitants, completely under the sub-regal control of the dissave and other Singalese chiefs of the province of Velassy. These chiefs levied heavy taxes and fines from the Moormen, and insisted upon obtaining from them whatever salt they required, as well as other articles of

trade, at their own price, and sometimes, as is alleged, without any remuneration. In consequence of extortions of this kind, the Moormen solicited General Brownrigg, through Colonel Hardy, to be placed under a head man of their own religious persuasion, and their request was granted. Hadjee, a Moorman who received the appointment, was a person of superior intellect, and highly respected among his own caste, not only on account of his natural talents, but also in consequence of having made a pilgrimage to Mecca. The Moormen forthwith practically renounced the authority of the Singalese or Kandyan head men, and withheld some of the dues which they had been accustomed to pay, either in kind or in money. Being deprived of their usual revenue, the chiefs were greatly incensed with the Moormen, and more especially with Hadjee, who had in no small degree supplanted the dissave in his authority.

It ought to be mentioned, that the Singalese inhabitants of the district of Velassy are less civilized than most other districts of the Kandyan country, having been but partially under the control even of the native government. They paid their taxes in kind, chiefly in wax and honey. They differed but little from the Village Vedahs, except that they practised agriculture to a greater degree, and were somewhat more disposed to social intercourse. They were, however, seldom seen out of their huts without being armed, or provided with bows and arrows, and on the appearance of a stranger they instantly concealed themselves in the jungle, so that in passing through the district, an inhabitant was seldom seen, except at a distance, or when they were come upon by surprise. The Moormen of this district being traders, were much more civilized than the Singalese inhabitants.

On the 10th October 1817, Mr Wilson, assistant-resident at Badulla, having received information that "a stranger," with two old and six young priests, had recently taken up their abode in the jungle in the province of Velassy, it was deemed necessary to despatch a party to apprehend "the stranger." For this purpose Hadjee was selected. He took his brother with him, together with a small party of Velassy Moormen, and left Badulla to execute his mission. On arriving at one of the passes into Velassy, he was met by a party of men who attempted to prevent his proceeding farther. Hadjee secured four of the party, and sent them to Badulla. Proceeding farther on the road, he was opposed by a more considerable party, armed with bows and arrows, who, after wounding his brother, captured himself. The rest of the party effected their retreat to Badulla. The news of Hadjee's capture reached Badulla on the 12th, and on the 14th Mr Wilson set out for Velassy with a party of Malay soldiers, under the command of Lieutenant Newman, and attended by an interpreter and some native Lascoreyns. Having halted at Allipoot the first night, he proceeded early the next morning towards Velassy. At three P. M. he reached Wainawelle, and found that all the inhabitants had fled, except two Moormen, who stated that Hadjee had been flogged, and sent prisoner to the man who was called "the stranger," and sometimes "*Deyo*," (a god,) an appellation which is occasionally given to the relations of a king. At Bootle, Mr Wilson and his party halted the second night. Next day, the 16th, he made several attempts to confer with some of the insurgents, but without success. Seeing that nothing effectual could be done to suppress the resistance of the inhabitants to legal authority, Mr Wilson determined to return to

Badulla with the party, and he considered it expedient to proceed by another route than the one by which he had left that post. During his progress, small parties of the natives occasionally appeared on the adjoining hills, using highly insulting language to the agent, and also to the detachment.* Mr Wilson halted at the side of a spring for the purpose of quenching his thirst, he being at the time attended by two servants. The detachment moved forwards, and continued to do so until they had gone a few hundred yards. Mr Wilson had not been many minutes at the spring, when he was killed by a discharge of arrows from the jungle, and at the same time one of his servants was wounded. Both of the servants proceeded to the military party, which had gone on, as has been stated; and when Lieutenant Newman was informed of what had taken place, he returned with all possible expedition to the fatal spot where Mr Wilson fell; but by the time he arrived, the hostile party had dragged the body into the jungle, and it was not discovered, although the detachment continued to search for it until near sunset.† The detachment returned to Badulla, having been much harassed, during great part of the way, by small bodies of the enemy. Mr Wilson's interpreter, and two or three of his Lascoreyns, separated from the military detachment and fell into the hands of the insurgents, by whom they were kept prisoners for some time. Some of the above facts were obtained from the prisoners when they were liberated.

* The opprobrious and insulting terms used by the Kandyans to Europeans are commonly, *Geremoi goulammah*, Beef-eating slaves, begone!

† On a future occasion, Mr Wilson's head was brought to Mr Sawers, at Badulla, by some Kandyans, when it was discovered that the skull had been pierced by two arrows.

When the account of Mr Wilson's death reached Kandy, Mr Sawers, the revenue-commissioner, proceeded forthwith to Badulla. He perceived no indication of revolt until he entered the province of Uwa, six miles from Badulla, where the villages were generally deserted, and the few inhabitants whom he saw declined having any communication with him. A few miles from Kandy, he met a party, consisting of a corporal and two privates, carrying a despatch from Major Macdonald, commandant of Badulla, to Kandy. This party proceeded by the district or province of Walapanne, where they were put to death by the inhabitants in less than an hour after Mr Sawers passed them.

For the purpose of ascertaining the feelings of the people of the province of Matele in regard to the British government, Sir John D'Oyley, the resident, authorised Eheylapola to proceed from his usual residence in Kandy to that part of the country. Having large estates in that province, it was presumed he was likely to have it in his power to acquire correct information in regard to the dispositions of the inhabitants.

On the 20th of October, his Excellency quitted Trincomalee to return to Kandy, and on the 23d, at Kandally, about sixteen miles from Trincomalee, he received the first intimation of the revolt. The accounts which reached him on the road became more alarming as he approached the hilly country. Eheylapola, who was in the province of Matele, with a large body of followers, fell in with Ratwatte, the dissave of the province, who was proceeding to pay his respects to his Excellency, and accused the dissave of having failed to pay him (Eheylapola) the honours he considered due to him. He forthwith disgraced Ratwatte, deprived him of the insignia of his office, and, in fact, virtually sus-

pended him. Owing to the greatly superior numbers of Eheylapola's followers, and their hostile appearance, the dissave's people fled, and left their helpless chief on the road, where the governor and his party found him. Fears, which were apparently well-founded, were entertained that this offensive measure was preparatory to Eheylapola's openly heading the insurrection, and capturing the governor and Lady Brownrigg, and all the party, his Excellency having only a very small escort. Fortunately, the result turned out otherwise. At Nallendy, a post about thirty-one miles from Kandy, Eheylapola, who appeared in great state, with several elephants and 2000 or 3000 people, waited upon the governor, and apologised for his unwarrantable conduct towards the Matele dissave.

Eheylapola's insult to the British government is presumed to have been the result of a blind ebullition of rage, directed against the first adikar, Molligodda—the dissave whom he had so grossly abused being the adikar's uncle. For political reasons, perhaps, Eheylapola escaped the sharp rebuke he deserved, having been allowed to return to Kandy without any publicly expressed opinion of his Excellency's disapproval of his conduct. The governor arrived in Kandy on the 26th October.

Millawa, the dissave of Velassy, being, from age and infirmity, unable to execute the active duties of his appointment, it was resolved by government to attach the dissavony under his charge to that of Uwa, of which province Monarawilla, commonly called Kappitapola, was dissave. This chief, with the sanction and approval of Mr Sawers and of Major Macdonald, the commandant of Badulla, proceeded to Velassy for the alleged purpose of tranquillizing the province, and bringing the

people back to their allegiance to the British government. No military force accompanied him; but twelve of his own followers were each furnished with a musket and a few rounds of ammunition from the government magazine. Immediately upon Kappitapola's reaching the province in question, it is alleged he was made a prisoner by the Velassy insurgents—a circumstance, the first information of which was received by the return of his twelve followers, with the muskets and ammunition they had received from the government stores.

From about the middle to the end of October, the weather was extremely unfavourable for the march of troops, in consequence of heavy rains in the Kandyan provinces. Between Hangwelle and Colombo, the country was extensively inundated, by which, and the swollen mountain-torrents, the progress of the detachments was greatly retarded. The tappals or mails were intercepted by the enemy in that part of the country which they occupied, and hence it became extremely difficult to effect a prompt and certain co-operation of the troops.

Early in the month of November, a detachment of the 19th Regiment reached the district of Velassy from Batticallo. On the appearance of the troops, a large portion of the inhabitants absconded into the jungle, carrying with them their cattle and whatever grain they possessed.

Numerous military posts were established in this district, for the purpose of keeping up a line of communication from the district of Batticallo to Badulla and Uwa, &c., the principal post being established at Kattabowe, the chief Moor village in the district. The Moormen having been promised protection from the

insurgents by the English officers, returned to their homes, and seemed glad of the countenance thereby afforded them; but no sooner had they taken this step, than they forthwith seized the cattle belonging to the Kandyans who had fled into the jungle, and sold them to the British commissariat for the use of the troops. For some time, many of the Moormen played a double part, apparently determined, in the end, to join the party which held out longest. It is alleged, also, that not a few of the Moormen who had been successful in obtaining possession of the cattle of the Kandyans, fearing that they would be obliged to restore the property they had pillaged, were the Kandyans to return to their homes, and submit to British rule, circulated reports much to our prejudice, for the purpose of inducing them to hold out against our government.

Major Macdonald having proceeded with a detachment of troops to Velassy, it was found expedient to remove Colonel Kelly, the commandant of the troops in the interior, from Kandy to Badulla, to which place he proceeded with an escort on the 30th October.

Several other small bodies of troops moved towards Velassy, both from Batticallo, on the east side of the island, and from the garrison of Kandy. In these marches they had to pass through narrow pathways, close jungles, and over steep hills, exposed to the missiles of the enemy, which were chiefly arrows, although some of them were furnished with muskets. The detachments having formed a junction about the heart of the disaffected country, it was deemed advisable by Major Macdonald to inflict a severe punishment on the inhabitants, probably for the purpose of thereby checking the insurrection. With this view, the work of devastation commenced; the houses of the inhabit-

ants were forthwith set on fire and burnt to the ground, and all the cattle, grain, &c., belonging to the people, were either carried off by the troops or destroyed. The inhabitants appeared to be horror-struck at the devastation thus produced: they ceased to shout at the troops, or to fire upon them; while they were seen on the neighbouring heights, and close to the skirts of the plain, gazing in silence upon the flames which consumed their habitations, and the driving away of their cattle, they having had no time to remove any part of their property. Next day, some of the head men and their followers made their submission to Major Macdonald, and solicited forgiveness.* In consequence of these favourable appearances, sanguine hopes were entertained, during the month of November, that the flame of insurrection was nearly extinguished.† These hopes were, however, not realized. The outbreak of revolt in Velassy acted like a match thrown into a barrel of gunpowder, upon the dissatisfied and disaffected population of the whole country; the insurrection continued to extend, and, on the 21st day of February 1818, the whole of the Kandyan provinces were placed under martial law.

* Asiatic Journal, vol. v. p. 615.

† Major Forbes, when he published his interesting work on Ceylon, does not seem to have been aware of the active measures which were adopted to suppress the insurrection. He says, "I cannot help thinking that hundreds of British, and thousands of native lives, might have been saved, if, at the commencement of the rebellion, a stern and severe example had been made of the persons and property of those who first committed acts of treason and murder, and had taken the field in arms against the British government." Many very severe examples were made, from the commencement of the revolt to its termination, not only of the persons and property of those who "had taken the field in arms," but also of others who had not done so.

The late Dr Arnold strongly deprecated the notion, that the population of a country "should rise in irregular warfare, each man or each village for itself, and assail the invaders as their personal enemies, killing them whenever and wherever they could find them." The Doctor's remarks probably refer to countries where standing armies, or regular armies at least, are considered to be the only belligerents, and not to a state of society like that of the Kandyan kingdom, whose armed force was chiefly extemporaneous assemblages of the people. He admits, however, that if an invading army sets the example of irregular warfare, if they proceed, says he, "after the manner of the ancients, to lay waste the country in mere wantonness, to burn houses, and to be guilty of personal outrages on the inhabitants,—then they themselves invite retaliation, and a guerilla warfare against such an invader becomes justifiable."* The Kandyans were never practically acquainted with the laws of civilized warfare; and, although they had often been attacked with an overwhelming force of disciplined armies, they preserved the independence of their country for a period of 300 years, chiefly by an uprising of the people, for the purpose of repulsing and expelling invaders. We are unwilling to consider the people who, either in modern or in ancient times, have risen in masses against the invaders of their country, as robbers and murderers. During the insurrection in Calabria, some of the insurgents evinced a high spirit, and bravely resented the imputation of being brigands. One of them said to the French military tribunal at Monteleon, "The robbers are yourselves! What business have you

* Introductory Lectures on Modern History, by Dr Arnold. Lecture iv. p. 163.

here, and with us?" Similar questions might, with great propriety, be made in regard to the invaders of other countries, both in Europe and Asia.

In some respects, the resistance of the Calabrians to the French in 1806–7, resembled that of the Kandyans to the English. The means adopted to subdue them were precisely similar. The terms peasant and brigand were, in Calabria, nearly synonymous, and the same may be said of the terms Kandyan and rebel in Ceylon. We are informed, for example, that the officer who commanded at Alipoot detached two parties, who surprised a body of inhabitants, of whom 21 were killed and 15 wounded. These persons being denominated rebels, were indiscriminately put to the bayonet, (*Asiatic Journal*, vol. vi. page 544;) under such circumstances, no attention was paid to guilt or innocence, or to degrees of guilt, or degrees of misfortune. In many places, much care was taken to sweep the country bare of every thing, for the purpose of depriving the inhabitants of the means of subsistence.

Notwithstanding the most energetic measures on the part of the British government, the insurrection, or war of independence, extended rapidly, so much so, that by the months of February or March 1818, all the country was against us, except the lower part of Saffragam, the Three and Four Corles, Udunuwera, and Yattinuwera; and, with the exception of the first adikar, every chief of consequence had either joined the rebel standard, or was confined by us for favouring, or being suspected of favouring, the insurrection.

On the 2d March, Eheylapola was arrested and confined a prisoner at Colombo, upon a suspicion of his being disaffected towards the English. In the minute of his Excellency the governor, dated March 7th, it is

stated, that the case of Eheylapola Maha Nilemé stands thus: "He is removed for a time, because government considers his presence here as detrimental to the public good, but it is not at all meant to charge him as a traitor." Although no charge was ever made against this chief, he was never restored to liberty, having died in exile, an untried state prisoner.

For a considerable period, during the months of May, June, and July, the issue of the contest seemed to be very doubtful. Indeed, it is alleged that arrangements were in progress to withdraw the British force from the interior. Lady Brownrigg left Kandy under the charge of a large escort, comprehending the major portion of the garrison of Kandy, under the command of Captain, now Lieutenant-Colonel, Frazer, and proceeded to Colombo. Fears were entertained that the inhabitants of the Three and Four Corles might join the insurgents, when the communication with Colombo would be cut off. Had this taken place, which was at one time probable, the troops, including the sick, would have been obliged to fight their way out of the country, with all the unfortunate results of former retreats from Kandy in prospect.* A large portion of the sick in hospital at Kandy, amounting sometimes to from 300 to 500 men, were regularly supplied with arms and ammunition at sunset, with the view of enabling

* "Luckily," says Major Forbes, "the private animosity subsisting between Eheylapola and the first adikar, Molligodda, induced the latter to exert his influence in support of the British supremacy, which he had good reason to identify with his own safety. By his influence in the district of the Four Corles, the people there were generally restrained from insurrection, a service of great importance at this period to the British interest, as through that province lay the principal defiles and mountain passes of the road which led from Colombo to the Kandyan capital."

them to defend themselves should the hospital be attacked.

Early in the month of April, a reinforcement of 2000 men was received from Madras, and other large reinforcements followed, both from Madras and Bengal, including about 5000 coolies.

It may be said of the Kandyan insurrection, what an eminent historian has stated in regard to the contests in which William the Conqueror was engaged. "The resistance of the Saxons," says Sir James Mackintosh, "was not a flame casually lighted up by the oppression of rulers—it was the defensive warfare of a nation, who took up arms to preserve, not to recover, their independence."

Early during the insurrection, if not at its commencement, a reputed relation to the deposed king was brought forward by the insurgents of Velassy, as a candidate for the crown. The name adopted by this alleged "stranger" and pretender to the throne was Dura Samy; and it was asserted by the insurgents, that the hostile measures directed against the English were by his authority. Kappitapola remained with the insurgents, and accepted the office of first adikar to the pretender. Assuming that Kappitapola was made a prisoner by the Velassy insurgents, it is difficult to account for his joining them, and becoming ostensibly their principal leader. He may, perhaps, have found the insurrection so general, and the people so resolved to resist the English, that he concluded the popular cause would in the end be victorious. Having great love of approbation, he may have been prevailed upon to become the leader of the revolt, although he might have had no intention to join the insurgents when he left Badulla. By returning the firelocks, he evinced a re-

markable instance of good faith to Mr Sawers and Major Macdonald. Had the insurrection been successful, Kappitapola would have been honoured and characterized as a patriot, instead of being stigmatised as a rebel, and punished as a traitor.

The person put forward to enact the part of king, was an alleged illegitimate member of the royal family, a priest, by name Wilbawa, who does not appear to have been recognised as a fitting and proper candidate for the crown by almost any of the chiefs. Although all ranks and classes of the Kandyans regarded us with the greatest aversion, and wished us to leave the country, there seemed to be no confidential bond of union, no plot or conspiracy established among the chiefs for the purpose of expelling us.

On the 28th February, the Kandyan forces, under the command of Kappitapola, accompanied by the pretender, attacked Major Macdonald at Paranagamme. The Major had not more than 80 rank and file to repulse the enemy, whose force, it is conjectured, amounted to not less than 6000 or 7000 men. The attack was renewed at intervals until the 7th March, when the contest was relinquished, and the insurgents separated for the time. On our side not one man was hurt.

On the 6th and 7th of March, Lieutenant-Colonel Hook was attacked at Panella by numerous parties of insurgents. Other posts were attacked about the same time ; but the assailants were invariably repulsed, with very little loss on our part.

Although the insurgents were not successful in attacking posts, they were with much difficulty repulsed by troops proceeding from one post to another. On the 2d March, Major Delatre marched from Trincomalee for Kandy, with a detachment of 100 rank and file.

Soon after his departure from that garrison he experienced the difficulties usually attendant on a march, in low swampy ground, during wet weather. Rain commenced to fall on his arrival at Kandally, the 3d March, and continued until the 14th, when he reached Nalende, which is about 96 miles from Trincomalee. The passage of the river Gonava was disputed by the insurgents, and they continued to harass and assail his flanks in large bodies, during four days, or until he was within a few miles of Nalende. Major Delatre had his right arm fractured, a ball having passed through it, near the shoulder-joint. Two of his men were killed, and four severely wounded.

The exhausted condition of the detachment rendered it necessary to remain at Nalende for a period of ten days. Major Delatre having ascertained that the insurgents were in great strength on the road to Kandy, determined to proceed to Kornegalle, carrying with him the garrison of Nalende. Accordingly, having dismantled this post, he marched on the 24th, and arrived on the 27th March at Kornegalle. On this march he met with considerable opposition, and had four rank and file wounded.

No information having been received at head-quarters (Kandy) of Major Delatre's proceedings, and much apprehension being entertained for the state of things in Matelè, it was determined to open a communication with Nalende; and, accordingly, a detachment of 100 rank and file, under Captain Raper, 19th Regiment, marched from Aitgalle, seven miles from Kandy, at midnight, on the 27th March, the same day Major Delatre reached Kornegalle; but, so great were the obstructions given by the insurgents, that Captain Raper did not reach the bottom of the Aitgalle pass until daylight on

the following morning. The distance from the pass to Nalende is 20 miles; and, along the whole road, he was attacked by the enemy, who killed two men, and wounded six rank and file and two coolies.

On reaching Nalende, which he did at seven o'clock the same evening, and finding the post evacuated, Captain Raper made the men cook and rest until midnight, when he commenced his march back to Kandy, bringing his wounded along with him. At seven o'clock the following evening, he reached the Aitgalle pass; but, being unable to proceed farther, he remained there all night, and, next morning, forced his way through numerous bodies of assailants, who were posted on the commanding precipices for the purpose of obstructing his progress. He reached the small post of Aitgalle about eight o'clock on the succeeding morning, after an absence of fifty-six hours. Before one week had elapsed, every individual of Captain Raper's detachment was admitted into hospital.

About the beginning of April, a reward of 1000 pagodas was offered by government for the apprehension of Kappitapola, and an equal sum for each of two other principal chiefs. Smaller sums were offered at the same time for the apprehension of other insurgent chiefs.

During the months of July, August, September, and October, the troops were chiefly employed in pursuing fugitive chiefs, together with their followers, and in capturing or destroying property belonging to the inhabitants.

Towards the end of August, the pretender and Kappitapola were joined by Madugalla, a Doombera chief, who had displayed a remarkable degree of energy and enterprise in his own district. The pretender intended to leave Velassy for the purpose of joining one of the

chiefs in Wallepony, but he was persuaded by Madugalla to cross the Maha Villa Ganga, and proceed to a station in Doombera, where a palace had been constructed for him. Here the pretender was treated by the chiefs and people with royal honours, and the usual respect shown to the king. On the 3d September, the office of second adikar, and the appointment of dissave of Matele, were conferred on the Doombera chief. About this time, Madugalla discovered that the pretender, or person who had been elected or appointed king by the Velassy chiefs and Kappitapola, was not, as alleged, a relation of the deposed king, but a man who had until lately been a priest. Greatly offended at the deception which had been practised upon him and the whole Kandyan people, he proceeded to the residence of Kappitapola, and, having made him prisoner, sent him to Pitawala, and directed that his feet should be put into the stocks. Madugalla next made the pretender prisoner, confining him in the palace prepared for him at Mihavala, his feet being, at the same time, secured in the stocks. How long they were confined, or by what means they were liberated, is not known; but, according to report, as soon as Wilbawa, the pretender, obtained his liberty, he practically renounced his kingly dignity, and sought refuge among the Vedahs of Bintenna; and, although a large reward was offered for his capture, he was not apprehended until 1829, having succeeded in concealing himself for a period of twelve years. He was finally captured, in consequence of information received from a Boodhist priest who knew him. He was tried and convicted in Ceylon, and pardoned by orders from Britain. Wilbawa had been a very handsome man; but fatigue and anxiety had materially changed his appearance by the time he was

apprehended, and given him a melancholy cast of countenance.

The hostility of the people, in most of the disaffected provinces, abated considerably during the months of September and October; a predatory warfare had been in existence for nearly a year, during which period the principal part, indeed almost the whole, of the population, men, women, and children, had lived in the woods and on the tops of mountains. Their grounds had been uncultivated for two seasons; many of their cattle were killed; their small stores of grain were expended, having been in many places destroyed or plundered by the British troops. The monsoon-rains were approaching, so that they had no other prospect before them, by holding out against the English, but accumulated hardship and famine.

During the months of July and August, some of the native chiefs who had joined the insurgents were captured, several of whom were tried by courts-martial. Among others, a distinguished chief, Ellepola Maha Nileme, was brought before a court-martial on the 17th October, by which he was found guilty of levying war against our lord the king, and sentenced to suffer death by hanging,—a punishment which was commuted to decapitation. On the 27th October he was executed, on which occasion he conducted himself with the greatest firmness. His body was interred by the orders of government. He had himself expressed a wish that it should be left a prey to dogs and jackals, probably from an opinion entertained by Boodhists, that indignities shown to the body after death conferred a degree of merit upon the soul or spirit.

Towards the end of the revolt, one subordinate chief, and one only, joined a plundering expedition against

the disaffected, namely, Ecknelligodda, dissave of Saffragam. He accompanied a body of troops, who were employed against the insurgents in Uwa, with a number of people from his dissavony.*

On the 30th October, Kappitapola and another chief, Pilimi Talawa, son of the notorious Pilimi Talawa who was beheaded in 1812, were surprised and taken by a detachment of troops, under the command of Colonel Fraser, in the neighbourhood of Anarajahpoora. Madugalla, who, according to report, had become reconciled

* The following song of triumph, composed in the Pali language, was translated by the late Mr Armour while he was interpreter to the Judicial Commissioner in Kandy:—

I. Having divested himself of fear for personal safety, and of anxiety for his wealth, through loyalty to the European potentate, *Ecknelligodda dissave*, with undaunted courage and resolution, Prosperity perched on his shoulders, and followed by armed bands, went forth against the rebel multitude, and, like the bird *Garooda*, destroyed the insurgent serpents.

II. Possessed of courage and gifted with victory, as were the mighty heroes, *Ramah Arguna*, *Vasoo Deva*, and *Beema Lena*, and bounteous as the *Kalpa Wurksha*, did not he, the great Ecknelligodda, rush forward and extinguish rebellion throughout *Uwa?*

III. He having received the sanction of the Great Brownrigg, the English commander, accompanied the troops with a powerful host of Saffragam people, pursued and hanged the rebels on trees, thereby stunning them with terror and dismay.

IV. The archers in their ambuscades laid their hand on the bow-string, but before they could discharge their arrows they were stultified with fear, and underwent severe chastisement. Why have ye forgotten all which Ecknelligodda accomplished?

Protected by the troops, Ecknelligodda and his host did certainly excite terror and dismay among the inhabitants of Uwa, by plundering and destroying whatever came in their way. What the troops spared they captured: nothing was too insignificant for their rapacity.

to Kappitapola, and was acting in concert with him, was taken on the 1st of November; and with his capture the insurrection terminated.

Kappitapola and Madugalla were tried by a court-martial, and sentenced to suffer death, and both were beheaded on the 25th November. (*Vide* Appendix, No. X.) Several other chiefs were executed. Pilimi Talawa was tried and condemned to death; but his sentence was commuted to banishment to Mauritius. It is remarkable that this chief had been twice similarly condemned, once by the deposed king, and again by a court-martial, and had his life spared.

Eheylapola, the chief who had so materially contributed to the conquest of Kandy,—the alleged friend of the British government,—was kept a prisoner at Colombo until 1825, when he was banished to Mauritius, apparently in consequence of being suspected of having favoured the insurrection. The rivalry and animosity which had long existed between the two great chiefs, Eheylapola and Molligodda, is presumed to have had much influence in binding the latter to the interests of the British government. He was the only chief of consequence who was not presumed to be implicated in the revolt. Eheylapola had much reason to hate, and to wish to subvert Molligodda, whom he had known, under a former regime, as a cruel enemy, seconding the wishes, and enforcing the orders of the deposed king, and whom he now saw in possession of the highest dignity under the British government. Had the insurrection succeeded, and Eheylapola attained power, Molligodda would, no doubt, have felt the influence of his vengeance, and, foreseeing this result, the safety and welfare of the adikar became intimately connected with our success. To the enmity which existed between these chiefs may,

in a great measure, be attributed our being able to preserve a footing in the country.

Molligodda died in 1823. Eheylapola died in Mauritius in April 1829, being about fifty-six years of age.

A considerable number of petty chiefs were banished, either as a commutation of punishment, or from being suspected of having countenanced the revolt.

Lieutenant-Colonel Colbrooke, in his Report upon the Administration of the Island of Ceylon, (24th December 1831,) recommended that the governor should not, in future, be allowed to exercise this power, except in cases of great emergency; the power of banishing individuals, without trial, being incompatible with the interests of the country.

On the death of the deposed king, (1832,) the exiles were permitted to return to Ceylon, provided they engaged to reside in the maritime provinces, and not to revisit the Kandyan country.

"It would be difficult," says Dr Davy, "to give the English reader an accurate idea of the manner in which, during the rebellion, hostilities were carried on on either side. When a district rose in rebellion, one or more military posts were established in it; martial law was proclaimed; the dwellings of the resisting inhabitants were burnt; *their fruit-trees were often cut down;* and the country was scoured in every direction by small detachments, who were authorized to put to death all who made opposition, or were found with arms in their hands." But, in a warfare of the kind in question, where every inhabitant is a foe, persons who are not with us are commonly presumed to be against us, and treated as enemies. Hence the war carried on against the insurgents became characterized by devastation and extermination. Are there no means by which civilized nations can carry on

war with barbarians, but by retrograding into barbarity themselves? The dwellings of the inhabitants were, as has been already stated, burned, and their fruit-trees cut down, without any reference to whom they belonged.

The measure of destroying grain and fruit-trees, in the neighbourhood of Badulla, was a harsh proceeding, being a country which, in the best of times, does not produce sufficient food for its own inhabitants.* Owing to the labour required to fell trees, much fewer of them

* Deuteronomy xx. 19.—In the East, a much more considerable part of man's subsistence being derived from fruit-bearing trees than in our climate, the wanton destruction of such trees is there considered little less than an act of impiety. "Some of the severest injuries done to the Kandyans during the insurrection," says Colonel Campbell, "were the destruction of coco-nut trees, and laying waste the rice-grounds, by breaking down the immense mounds or embankments, constructed to retain the water, so essential in the cultivation of the grain, and which it must take years to repair or replace."—(*Excursions and Adventures*, &c., vol. ii. 124.) This barbarous devastation resembles that which William the Conqueror inflicted upon the inhabitants of Yorkshire and Northumberland, who resisted his authority. William effectually subdued the insurgents; but he left that part of his kingdom literally a wilderness, having, for the purpose of preventing a new insurrection, depopulated the country by fire and sword, and reduced a large tract of it to the solitude and silence of death. It is affirmed, that about 100,000 men, women, and children, were destroyed in this terrible operation, and that, for nine years thereafter, not a patch of tillage was to be seen between York and Durham. "There are none against whom the flame of human passion burns more fiercely and enduringly than those who, forgetting the humanity of the man and the heroism of the soldier, have marked their progress through a hostile territory by smoking hamlets, devastated fields, and homeless orphans."—(*Bentham.*) In warfare, similar circumstances apparently lead to the commission of similar atrocities. "In a recent account of an expedition of the French into a fertile province in Algiers, the French officer in command relates, that he gave orders to his soldiers to cut down the olive-trees and the fig-trees of the district, the only wealth of the native population; but still, so barbarous are the natives of those regions, that nothing but measures of extermina-

were destroyed than would otherwise have been the case. In the neighbourhood of the military stations, the central bud or cabbage of coco-nut trees was sometimes abstracted, by which means the tree was effectually killed. The cabbage was used as food by the soldiers.

The whole country was traversed in every direction by predatory military parties, who applied the torch to the cottages and whatever other property fire would consume, and which they could not carry away. Women and children were, as appears by general orders, sometimes captured and retained as prisoners of war.

"Driven from their villages," says Major Forbes, "their coco-nut trees cut down, their property and crops destroyed, and unable to till their land, the natives suffered severely from sickness and famine, besides those who fell by the fire of the British troops."

The following extract from a general order issued by the governor, Sir Robert Brownrigg, bearing date Kandy, 6th January 1818, will convey a clearer description of the manner in which hostilities were conducted, than can be done by a general account:—

"Captain C., in pursuance of Lieutenant-Colonel H.'s orders, marched from Madoola on the morning of the 29th ultimo, with Lieutenant L., 73d regiment, and a party of 50 rank and file, to *chastise* the rebels of a neighbouring village, when he fell on several of them concealed in lemon grass, killed four or five, and took one prisoner, and burned the houses of a Mohottal, and the houses of other head men who had been concerned in the murder of the late Mr Kennedy. The prisoner

tion can extort from them a reluctant submission to the authority of France." "No prisoners are made, except by rare exception, and no hostages on either side. No quarter is asked or given."—(*Times*, June 9th, 1845.)

gave information of the hiding-place of a horde of insurgents near to Madoola, when it was determined by Lieutenant-Colonel H. to surprise and seize them the same night, which was completely effected by Captain C. and his party in the most gallant manner.* The rebels, as

* The Mr Kennedy, whose name is mentioned in the general order, was assistant-surgeon to the 1st Ceylon regiment. He left Kandy on the 9th December 1817, with an escort of one Malay corporal, two Malay privates, and eight Caffries, together with a party of coolies, loaded with rice, for the purpose of proceeding to a station in the province of Uwa. Having passed the military station of Panella, about twenty-four miles from Kandy, the party was attacked by a large body of Kandyans, who killed Mr Kennedy, the eleven soldiers forming the escort, and thirteen coolies. One, if not more, of the coolies having concealed himself in the jungle, escaped death. It appears, from the best information which could be obtained regarding the slaughter of this detachment, that the Kandyans kept at a considerable distance from the party, until they had completely expended their ammunition, when, having become comparatively defenceless, they were surrounded and felled to the earth with long poles. One sentiment seemed to animate the mass of the population—a detestation of foreigners who meant to humble their national pride, together with a desire to avenge, by every possible expedient, the injuries they considered their country had sustained.

Similar horrible scenes occurred in many of the retrograde movements of the French army in Portugal and Spain. On the retreat of Marshal Soult from Oporto in 1809, the British army found the road strewed with dead horses and mules, and with the bodies of French soldiers who were put to death by the peasantry. When we find capitulations disregarded, and such scenes of cruelty take place in a civilized and Christianized country, need we wonder that similar cruelties, and similar breaches of good faith, should occur under similar circumstances of foreign invasion, among a Kandyan population? The war of a people struggling for their independence, their institutions and usages, may be expected to be different from an army of mercenaries,—the excesses of an invaded people being generally of a barbarous character. A writer in a periodical asserts, that he knew a village in India where a body of cavalry that engaged itself in the streets was beaten out with long poles. He concludes by observing as follows:—"Of all bitter, painful, and abominable situations, God preserve an honest man from being set in opposition to an armed people."

is supposed, to the number of fifty men, were in a cave situated near the summit of a mountain, which being silently approached by our detachment, small divisions, under Lieutenant L. and Serjeant Murray, of the 73d regiment, were posted in the pathways at each end of the mouth of the cave, while Captain C. proceeded, with the remainder of his brave soldiers, to the front. The alarm being given within, the inhabitants, set up a hideous yell, and rushed from the cavern. Twenty of them were killed by our troops, and the remainder precipitated themselves down the steep declivity of the mountain, by which they must have severely suffered. In the darkness that prevailed, one woman and child were unfortunately killed; but the instant it was understood that women and children were in the cave, that generosity which is inherent in the breast of every soldier serving in the British ranks, was manifested towards them, and they were protected. Most, indeed, of the rebels who effected their escape, owed their safety to the great anxiety of the detachment to avoid doing any further injury to the helpless females and their children. *One gun*, several spears, bows and arrows, and a small quantity of paddy, were found in the cave. * * * * The commander of the forces has pleasure in signifying, in public orders, his best thanks to Captain C., Lieutenant L., the native officers, non-commissioned officers, and soldiers under their command, and is well persuaded that their gallantry will be duly appreciated by the troops, and that all will strive to emulate it.

(Signed) "HENRY BATES,
"Dep. Asst. Adj.-Gen."

These details show that neither of the belligerents

seemed much disposed to take prisoners, and that the atrocities of a force trained to the usages of civilized warfare, were not less flagrant than those of an uncivilized population. White and black races, the invaded and the invaders, Christian and Pagan, vied with each other in promoting the horrors and barbarities of mutual destruction. Probably this was considered the only effectual mode of carrying on the war, and that the end justified the means. Did not the means condemn the end? Mr Knighton seems to think so; for, after quoting Dr Davy's account of the manner in which hostilities were carried on by the Kandyans, who were fighting in defence of their ancient institutions and usages, and the English who were contending for conquest, he concludes with the following observations:—"No conduct, on the part of the Ceylonese, could justify the cruelty of the English." * * * "Such proceedings as those may have been politic and successful, but they are not those on which a humane mind can dwell with pleasure, and we may reasonably question whether it would not have been more just and wise altogether to evacuate the interior, than to allow such a state of things to continue so long as they did."—(*Knighton's History of Ceylon*, page 330.)

The comparative superiority of civilized nations over uncultivated communities may be often delusive. "The manners, the crimes, of illiterate savage tribes are apt enough to appear to us in their full dimension and deformity, but the violations of natural law among civilized nations have a solemn varnish of policy which disguises the enormity of guilt."—(*Essays on the History of Mankind, by Professor Dunbar*, page 274.)

The means used to "chastise" insurgents in Kandy, appear to have been an exact transcript of the plan

which was adopted by the Duke of Cumberland to punish malcontents in Scotland. "During and after the Rebellion in Scotland in 1745," says my authority, "in many places the dispersed clans were hunted down like wild beasts, tracked to their dens and holes in the hill-sides, and either burnt or smothered by combustible materials lighted at the mouths of these crannies, or compelled to come out to fall upon the bayonets and swords of their pursuers. Every man who wore the tartan was a rebel and traitor, whose body, and soul, and goods were forfeited; and so the soldiers slashed and plundered wherever they came, without any attention to guilt or degrees of misfortune."

Human character is greatly formed from human employment. The result of example and practice, in training the human mind to regard with indifference, and even to sanction, acts of great inhumanity, is almost incredible, (2 Kings viii. 12, 13.) "When I am discharged," said a private of the 19th Regiment in the hearing of an officer, "I intend to become a highwayman; for one thing," said he, "after what I have seen in Kandy, taking the life of a man will give me no concern."

> "There's nought so monstrous but the mind of man
> In some conditions may be brought to approve."

Whoever has the power of declaring war, should exercise that prerogative with infinite caution; for, whether a war be denominated aggressive or defensive, it is a fallacy to suppose that hostilities can be carried on without most revolting barbarities.

Cruelty excites cruelty, and excess begets excess. The blessed fountains of mercy were dried up in both the invaded and the invaders. We being the aggressors,

the Kandyans, who were struggling to expel us from the country to preserve their independence, could not be expected to allow us much claim to either good faith or humane treatment.

During the insurrection, the troops were frequently exposed to great danger, and always liable to much fatigue. The natives wisely avoided meeting them openly in the field, being sensible that their strength lay in stratagem and bush-fighting; in fighting according to their own fashion, and carefully eschewing our combined modes of aggression.

During the American war of independence, General Howe was always anxious to bring Washington to a battle on what he called fair and equal terms, which the latter always declined by retiring to strong defensive positions. Both of the generals were of opinion that inexperienced troops were unable to withstand the British army in the field. Extemporaneous levies are unable to resist veteran troops, except in woody, mountainous, and difficult countries, containing many strong natural positions. Each of the generals knew his comparative strength and comparative weakness, and acted accordingly. The inexperienced levies had, however, the best of it in the end.

On account of the woody character, and almost impenetrable nature of the country, the military parties were greatly exposed to the missile weapons of the enemy. Detachments were frequently dodged by three or four Kandyans, who, in consequence of their knowledge of the by-paths, could fire upon the party occasionally, and keep up with it on a march. When a man was killed, the detachment was halted; wood was collected, and the body burnt,—a measure which caused delay. The burning of the body was adopted to prevent

mutilation, as the enemy was in the habit of imitating our old method of executing traitors, by impaling the heads of the killed close to a British post. When a man was wounded, so as to render him unable to march, he required to be carried; and this operation was commonly effected by putting him in a cumley, or country-blanket, suspended under a bamboo. In this manner, two coolies were able to carry one man. These circumstances obviously retarded the march of troops, and exposed them long to the fire of the enemy. It was eventually deemed advisable to suspend the ordinary plan of marching troops, conveying stores, and transporting sick by day through the disaffected parts of the country, and to endeavour to perform these duties under the obscurity of night. By nocturnal marching, fewer casualties occurred from the fire of the enemy; but the labour and long-protracted fatigue of the troops were greatly increased. This result may be easily conceived, when we take into account the ruggedness of the country and the impracticable nature of the pathways. In addition to the natural impediments which occurred, such as deep rivers, mountain-torrents, rugged precipitous roads, morasses, &c., the Kandyans constructed many artificial modes of obstruction. In the pathway along which it was necessary to march, they frequently dug pits, in the bottom of which pointed stakes were placed. Numerous other modes of hinderance were adopted, many of them evincing considerable ingenuity. The progress of troops was consequently extremely slow during night,—often not so much as a mile in an hour. Frequently it was impossible for the escorts of provisions and stores to cross the mountain-torrents in the dark; consequently, the men were obliged to halt, and to lie down for a time upon the damp grass, exposed to inclement weather.

The chilly dews of night, as well as frequent exposure to tropical rains, and remaining long in wet clothes, were fertile sources of disease.

The mode of warfare adopted by the Kandyans in 1817 and 1818 is graphically described by Robert Knox, who published his account of Ceylon in 1681. "In their war," says he, "there is but little valour used,—although they do accomplish many notable exploits,—for all they do is by crafty stratagem. They will never meet their enemies in the field, to give them a repulse by battle and force of arms; their usual practice is, to waylay their enemy, and stop up the ways before him. Here they lie lurking, and plant their guns between the rocks and trees, with which they do great damage to their enemies before they are aware. Nor can they suddenly rush in upon them, being so well guarded with bushes and rocks before them, through which, before their enemies can get, they flee, carrying their great guns (ginjals) upon their shoulders, and are gone into the woods, where it is impossible to find them, until they come themselves to meet them after the former manner."

"A nation determined, by external situation, to embark in schemes of dominion, possesses immense advantages in war over any other nation who arms merely for defence. The principles of interest, of ambition, of glory, embolden the designs of the former, and give to their efforts irresistible impetuosity. The efforts of the latter are more constrained and reluctant; and the most prosperous success, ultimately terminating in a temporary security rather than in positive acquisitions, produces not the martial ardour and enthusiasm which actuate heroic minds."—(*Essays on the History of Mankind, by Professor Dunbar*, p. 143.)

Scarcity of food was severely felt in a number of the stations. At Panella, where Colonel Hook commanded, the daily ration was sometimes not more than a quarter of a pound of salt meat, and half a seer of uncleaned rice—a seer being equal to about one pound and three quarters, English weight. Around many of the posts not an article of sustenance could be procured, either by purchase or by plunder. The means of transporting commissariat stores being inadequate, the ordinary ration was generally much reduced. Paddy, the unhusked grain from which rice is obtained, was frequently issued in place of rice, without any other article of sustenance. Much sickness was the result of these exhausting labours and privations in an insalubrious climate. Indeed, it was not to be expected that men could endure, without great loss, in any climate, the accumulated hardships and privations to which they were exposed.

The amount of mortality which took place in the army employed in this service, including the native corps, the Madras and Bengal troops, together with the pioneers or coolies, during the insurrection, it is impossible to estimate; and no detailed account of the loss sustained has been published. The following statement in regard to the mortality which occurred among the European force in the island, and in the 73d Regiment, will satisfactorily show that it must have been very great.

The mean strength of the European troops in the island, during the year 1818, was 2863, and the mortality 678, being in the proportion of 236 per thousand, or nearly one-fourth. The ordinary annual mortality of troops in the United Kingdom is 15 per thousand.

The 73d Regiment, which was chiefly employed in the Kandyan country, lost by death 356 men, or 412 per thousand.

Thé country round the small garrison of Kattabowe, in Velassy, and its depending posts, was, perhaps, more insalubrious than any other part of the island where we had troops stationed. The number of European soldiers exposed to the climate of Velassy, from the 12th July, when the prevalence of sickness commenced, to the 20th of October, when the endemic was presumed to have, in a great measure, terminated, was 254. Only two of this number, the commanding officer, (Captain Ritchie,) and the medical officer, (Mr Hoatson,) escaped fever; 79 men died in Velassy, and 173 were transferred, sick, to Batticallo, 114 of whom, it is supposed, died at that station.

Although hostilities terminated before the end of 1818, the fatigue, hardships, privations, and previous disease to which the men had been exposed, rendered them, for a long time after, liable to various diseases of a fatal character. The mean strength of the 73d Regiment, in 1819, was 566, and the mortality 160, or 282 per thousand; and 105 were invalided; consequently, the regiment may be said to have lost 621 men in two years. Only 12 of the men of the light company of 1817, consisting of about 110 individuals, survived to go home with the regiment in 1821. This company was very actively employed in the Kandyan country during the whole period of the insurrection.

The following abstract of the monthly returns of this regiment, for three years, will show the rapid increase of the proportion of mortality which took place during the revolt, together with the high ratio which continued among the men for a period of ten or twelve months after hostilities had ceased :—

	1818.		1819.		1820.	
	Strength.	Died.	Strength.	Died.	Strength.	Died.
January,	996	3	609	7	614	3
February,	989	9	577	10	548	4
March,	984	4	570	6	544	3
April,	973	11	542	27	539	4
May,	947	34	518	19	536	3
June,	916	31	496	23	517	2
July,	899	17	490	19	516	1
August,	860	35	474	14	511	5
September,	776	86	606	5	508	3
October,	706	68	634	10	500	
November,	683	21	630	7	536	6
December,	647	34	617	13	532	4
		353		160		38
Average strength,	864		564		533	

The proportion of mortality being, in 1818, 412 per 1000.
— — in 1819, 283 do.
— — in 1820, 71 do.*

No very accurate estimate can be made to what extent the native inhabitants suffered by death. Dr Davy, who had the best opportunities of acquiring information on this subject, thinks that, including those killed in the field, together with those who were executed, or died of disease and famine, the mortality may have amounted, perhaps, to 10,000. Having suffered so severely in lives and property by resisting our aggression, it may be expected that a large portion of the Kandyan population will long "rue the day when we crossed their mountains, and deplore the time when their old system of government was overturned."—(*Dr Davy.*) How many of the chiefs and people were banished to Mauritius I am

* The elementary materials from which this return is constructed, were obtained from Captain Hay, when Adjutant to the 73d Regiment.

unable to state. Kandy, as a kingdom, may be considered in some respects singular, having so long, with apparently inadequate means, successfully resisted the arms and the policy of powerful, ambitious, and hostile neighbours. But, to attain this object, how many lives have been lost, both by the invaded and the invaders!

"The warlike enterprises of our time have been almost exclusively directed against the independent populations of barbarous countries; and, under pretence of extending the institutions of civilized nations, or of providing for the security of their own frontiers, the most powerful states of Europe have been, or are still, engaged in these contests. Yet, in spite of all that may be said of the rude and savage habits of these barbarians, and notwithstanding the advantages promised to them whenever the fruits of knowledge, industry, and order shall ripen amongst a people to whom the elements of Christian government are unknown, it is certain that our sympathies are at variance with our actions, and we instinctively rejoice in the hardy valour with which these children of nature encounter and repel the civilized invaders of their land. They have in their favour the rights of freemen, and the virtues which belong to a patriarchal form of society, and an independent life. They are opposed by the formidable power of disciplined armies, and by the persevering policy of governments, prepared to sacrifice their wealth and their troops for the attainment of what is often a chimerical or a worthless object. They are fighting for all that is dearest to man, and their defeat must be followed by the loss of their liberty, perhaps by the gradual extirpation of their race; whilst their civilized assailants can boast of no such exalted or heart-stirring motives, and the courage displayed on their side is no more than the result of that

discipline which makes them instruments of the caprices of ambition or the obstinacy of princes."—(*Times Newspaper*, 27th September 1845.)

On the continent of India, when conquest was not aimed at by open hostilities, our first object has been, under the pretence of friendship, to establish a subsidiary force in the dominions of those with whom we were connected, in return for a stipulated tribute. The King of Kandy was, however, very cautious in committing himself with us, apparently placing little faith in our professions of amity: he uniformly declined our interference with his government, perhaps from observing, that the object of our friendship and our enmity had been the same in India; whether flattery or force were the means, extension of territory was always the end.

"All wars of interference," says the Rev. Mr Colton, "arising from an officious intrusion into the concerns of other States,—all wars of ambition, carried on for the purpose of aggrandizement,—are criminal in their outset, and have *hypocrisy* for their common base. First, there is the hypocrisy of encumbering our neighbour with an officious help, that pretends his good, but means our own; then there is the hypocrisy of ambition, where some restless grasping potentate, knowing that he is about to injure and insult, puts forth a jesuitical preamble, purporting that he himself has been first insulted and injured; lastly, comes a minor and subordinate hypocrisy, common to the three kinds stated above; I mean that of those who pretend most deeply to deplore the miseries of war, and who even weep over them with the tears of the crocodile, but who will not put a stop to war, although they have the means, because they find their own private account in continuing it."—(*Lacon*, vol. ii. p. 180.)

The Rev. Mr Allen, in his Diary of a March through Sinde, &c. &c., after giving a brief outline of "*Our schemes of unjust aggression*" in Western India, fervently prays for "the diffusion in India of that blessed gospel, which is not only the brightest manifestation of the glory of God, but the harbinger of peace and good-will towards man." Unjust aggression, by nominal Christians, ill exemplifies these benign principles of Christianity, and must contribute rather to deter than to allure comparatively barbarous nations and peoples from adopting the "more excellent way." Hitherto, it is much to be regretted, Christianity seems to have had but very limited influence in either promoting peace and good-will among men and nations, or in meliorating the horrors and barbarities of political strife. We find no time and no place since the creation of the world, in which religion, common-sense, justice, or humanity, could prevent the effusion of human blood. Civilization may have softened our manners, but it has added to our power, and perhaps, I may almost say, it has promoted the disposition to mutual destruction. Will the time ever arrive when Christians will be no longer the destroyers of Christians, the slayers of their fellow-men? Unfortunately for the peace of the world, the efforts of the ambitious have been sanctioned by popular approbation, and many worthy persons, humane and benevolent in the private relations of life, have been deceived into the opinion, that a warlike undertaking, which is successful, is not only just but glorious.

General Brownrigg left Kandy, and returned to the sea coast, on the 25th November; and, on the same day, Kappitapola and Madugalla were executed by decapitation. The entry of his Excellency into Colombo is

described as being quite triumphal, " under beautiful archways through the streets of the Pettah, (or suburbs of Colombo,) lined with troops, and crowded with the inhabitants in their holiday dresses,—the cannon of the ramparts firing, and the bands of two or three regiments playing."

Before leaving Kandy, his Excellency issued a proclamation, or new constitution for the Kandyan country. The principal changes which this proclamation promulgated were, 1*st*, Relating to the revenue: compulsory labour was to be abolished, except for making and repairing roads and bridges ; and, in lieu of personal services, a tax of one-tenth of the annual produce of cultivated lands was to be levied, being about double the former assessment. Personal services constituted a chief part of the revenue of the deposed king; but they were found to be of little or no value to the British government, and, being unproductive, they were abandoned, and another tax substituted. 2*d*, Relating to the administration of justice, which was to be conducted by officers appointed by government. With the exception of the temples, the administration of the public affairs of the Kandyan provinces was to be solely executed by English functionaries.

Compulsory labour of various kinds continued to be enforced in Ceylon, until it was recommended to be abolished by Lieutenant-Colonel Colbrooke, in his Report on the Administration of the Government of Ceylon, (December 1831.) It was alleged that this oppressive tax had, in the Kandyan country, been sometimes more rigorously enforced by the local government than ever under the native government, and that this was too often done without regard to the ancient customs of the country, or consideration of the claims and condition of

individuals. The system of forced labour made it necessary that a power of punishing those who refused to work should reside somewhere. In practice, the power of investigating the facts which authorised punishment, and the authority to inflict the penalty, were exercised by the same functionary. "The system of forced labour," says Colonel Colbrooke, "has been so irregularly maintained, and been productive of so much injustice, that I cannot but recommend its entire abolition by an order of his Majesty in Council." "Under the superintendence of Sir Edward Barnes," says Major Forbes, "the country derived all the benefit that could be produced by unrecompensed compulsory labour, which was exacted according to the customs of that despotism, to the powers of which the British government had succeeded;" indeed, it was "enabled to exact much more, both of labour and revenue, *than any native despot would have ventured to demand.*"—(*Eleven Years in Ceylon, by Major Forbes*, vol. i. page 56.)

Those few chiefs who were not greatly suspected of favouring the insurrection, had their titles confirmed, and received a fixed pay from government. Formerly, they had been remunerated by a contribution from the people, or an assessment on them.

The proclamation in question entered fully into apparently very small matters. It was therein directed, "That on entering the hall of audience, every person shall make obeisance to the portrait of his majesty there suspended." Europeans were to show respect to the first and second adikar, "by touching their caps, or taking off their hats," when they passed. "The chiefs holding the high offices of first and second adikar will be received by all sentries whom they may pass in the day with carried

arms." "Dissaves, or chiefs holding the governor's commission, may punish offences by corporal punishment, not exceeding twenty-five strokes with the *open hand*, and by imprisonment for a term not exceeding seven days."

Since the year 1818, when the insurrection ceased, no active opposition or resistance has been made by the Kandyans to the British government; although indications of dissatisfaction have occasionally occurred, so as to excite a feeling of insecurity on the part of the English colonists.

Early in the month of January 1820, a pretender to the throne of Kandy raised his standard in Bintenna. Having collected a few Vedahs, he seized a Vidahn of the province of Velassy, and commanded him to excite the people to rise in his favour. He asserted that he was a scion of a Kandyan royal family, and that he had been appointed king. On the 12th January he was captured, and sent to Badulla. Martial law having been proclaimed in the province of Velassy, upon hearing of his pretensions, he was forthwith tried by a court-martial for levying war against our sovereign lord the king, with the intent to subvert his government in the Kandyan provinces, and found guilty of the crime laid to his charge, being, as alleged, an infraction of a specified article of war, and sentenced to suffer death. When the proceedings of the court-martial were examined at Colombo, it was found that the conviction of the pretender was invalid, inasmuch as the article of war, which it was alleged he had violated, did not infer capital punishment; by which means Wimala Darma Narendrasinha Maha Rajah, the pretender in question, escaped decapitation; but without any further trial he was banished to Mauritius.

A disturbance of a different kind took place in 1834. During the month of March, the governor, Sir Robert Wilmot Horton, received information from Mahawelletenne Dissave, that treasonable intentions existed among some of the chiefs, priests, and other persons in the Kandyan provinces. This intimation led, as may be supposed, to a due degree of inquiry, and at last it was determined to seize certain persons who were suspected of being ringleaders of a revolt,—a measure which was effected on the 19th July, by surrounding the houses of the implicated persons, before daylight, with troops, and then seizing them at daybreak. Twenty-three persons were taken into custody, amongst whom were Molligodda, first adikar, only brother to the first adikar Molligodda, who died in 1823, Dunawille Dissave, commonly known by the name of Loco Banda, Raddegodde Lekam, two priests, together with a native officer of the Ceylon Regiment. On the 12th January 1835, the above six persons being considered the chief conspirators, were put on their trial before the Supreme Court, Colombo, for high treason: the other persons supposed to be concerned were either discharged or admitted as evidence. The indictment contained three counts, and eleven overt acts were charged in it, comprehending a conspiracy to levy insurrection, rebellion, and war against the king, to set up some pretended prince or relative of the late deposed King of Kandy to be king of the Kandyan provinces, to endeavour to procure assistance from Siam and from the French nation, to seduce some of the soldiers in the Ceylon Rifles from their allegiance, and to kill the soldiers and subjects of the king, &c., &c. Following the common views of government in Oriental countries, the conspirators wished to have a king to rule over them for the purpose of pro-

moting their power and influence, and preserving their ancient institutions and usages, without contemplating any limitation or restriction to his despotic authority. The examination of the witnesses lasted from the 12th till the 20th, being a period of nine days. On the 21st, the presiding judge summed up the evidence, and the jury, after deliberating for upwards of an hour, returned a verdict of "*Not Guilty.*" The deputy king's-advocate stated, that the verdict could only be attributed to a belief on the part of the jury that the witnesses for the crown were perjured, and the chief-justice observed, that he "was surprised by the verdict."

The jury was composed of six Europeans, and seven natives of high rank, inhabitants of the maritime provinces. The prisoners objected to being tried by Kandyans. It is understood that the six Europeans were unanimous for conviction, but that the seven natives were of a contrary opinion, and, being the majority, the verdict was an acquittal.

Notwithstanding the acquittal of the accused by the jury, the governor dismissed the first adikar from office, and all the others who were in the pay of government; namely, Dunawille Dissave,* Raddegodde Lekam, and

* In 1839, his Excellency the Governor of Ceylon, the Hon. Mr Stewart Mackenzie, accompanied by his son, paid a visit to the residence of Molligodda, where he dined and slept. This chief was distinguished for hospitality to Europeans, particularly to military officers. In 1843 he was reappointed to an official situation under government in the Four Corles.

Dunawille Dissave, *alias* Loco Banda, or Bandas, was a son of a wife of Milawa, dissave of Velassy, who died a state-prisoner in Colombo in 1822. Loco Banda, then a mere youth, accompanied his father to Colombo when he was arrested and made prisoner. Here he was sent to an English school, where he made tolerable progress in acquiring a knowledge of the English language. He was also much taken notice of by the officers of the

two priests of the Malwatte establishment. The native officer of the Malay regiment was dismissed from the service.

The disaffected persons appear to have at one time intended to adopt a legal mode of seeking redress of any grievances under which they might consider themselves to labour, by forwarding a memorial to England, to be presented to the king by delegates, who could give information in full detail upon any parts of it that required explanation. A copy of the proposed memorial to his majesty was transmitted to the governor at his request by Dunawille Dissave, (Loco Banda.) The following brief notice of some passages of this document will show the grounds of the dissatisfaction of the chiefs.

garrison, by which means he learned to speak the language rather fluently. Shortly after, Milawa died; his reputed son returned to his paternal residence, Dunawille, about eight miles from Kandy, where he resided with his mother. He married in 1824. His time was chiefly employed, or rather spent, in attending the court of the judicial commissioner in Kandy, and in lounging about the residence of the civil servants of government. Occasionally he was employed in court as an interpreter; and after some time had elapsed he was appointed to a situation under government. Mrs Heber describes Loco Banda as being, in 1825, quite an Eastern dandy: he "rode well," she informs us, "and was evidently proud of his horsemanship; but his flowing garments were ill adapted for riding." He was very anxious to introduce his wives and daughters to Mrs Heber, and she was equally anxious to see them; but being constantly occupied, she was obliged to leave Kandy without visiting them. It is presumed Mrs Heber was mistaken in regard to Loco Banda's domestic population, the Kandyans very rarely entertaining a plurality of wives; and as he was married only in 1824, his daughters could not be numerous in 1825. Loco Banda seems to have generally accompanied the bishop's party on their evening rides. Dunawille was certainly the most active, if not the most talented, of all the persons engaged in the conspiracy. He is now, 1845, an assistant-superintendent of the Rural Police in Kandy, with a salary of L.100 a year.

The memorialists state, that having submitted to the English government, they formally transferred their allegiance to his Britannic Majesty, at a convention held at the Palace of Kandy, on the 2d of March 1815, when it was, amongst other things, "agreed and established, that to the adikars, dissaves, and all other chiefs and subordinate head men, should be saved the rights, privileges, and powers of their respective offices, and to all classes of the people safety of their civil rights and immunities, according to the laws, institutions, and customs established and in force among them." In accordance with the convention, the chiefs and head men enjoyed their rights and privileges, but latterly some "appointments of rank and consequence" have been abolished, and other "rights and emoluments" diminished. The memorialists farther state, that "The apprehension of the probable abolition of the ancient and honourable offices of first and second adikar, caused in the minds of all classes of Kandyans the deepest sorrow and regret; they had no reason whatever, at the period of the convention, to expect so great a calamity as the abolition of the offices of adikar and dissave, which are coeval with the oldest institution of this country, and on the attainment of which dignified offices always depended the perpetuation of this honour and consideration of the noblest families of this country. Nor can the Kandyan chiefs, and the nation in general, now conceive how they have deserved so great a misfortune." They conclude with the prayer, that as they voluntarily ceded their country, and transferred their allegiance to his Britannic Majesty, their loyalty and services since "may all meet with generous consideration; and that such consideration may operate so far in favour of the Kandyans as to save their country from

dismemberment, and from being incorporated with the maritime districts, so that it may continue to subsist in its ancient integrity as the kingdom of Kandy, and retain its celebrated name of Singhala." They also "deprecate with earnestness, but with the profoundest submission, the abolition of the offices of adikar, dissave, and others, which were instituted in times of high antiquity, and have always been regarded with veneration as accessories of the constitution of their country. Should, however, their native offices be deemed no longer necessary, and abolished, the petitioners crave the enactment of an ordinance, to the effect, that such of their countrymen as have held, or were eligible to hold, the aforesaid native offices, should be also eligible at present to serve the office of assistant government agent, inasmuch as they are already conversant with the main duties of such offices, such as the collection of grain, revenue, &c.; and that in process of time, such of them as obtain a competent knowledge of the English language, and of business, should be eligible also to some of the higher civil appointments; and that, until such new appointments be made, the present holder of the offices of adikar, and other superior native appointments, should be continued therein, with their respective salaries, emoluments, and honours undiminished."

It would be difficult to give a satisfactory reply to this well-written memorial. By assuming the unlimited rule of the King of Kandy, and promising "to the chiefs a continuance of their respective ranks and dignities," thereby virtually engaging to protect them in their despotic usages, we indirectly approved of the policy and rule of the deposed sovereign, and gave the chiefs every reason to expect that their institutions and customs would not be altered, or their power abated. The

emancipation of the mass of the people from the thraldom of *rajahcariah*, (king's work,) compulsory labour, and compulsory attendance at the festivals of Boodhism, a measure which greatly reduced the power, influence, and consequence of the privileged classes and priests, is presumed to have been the principal cause of the disaffection that became evident among some of the chiefs and priests at this time. It is worthy of observation, that the deposition of the king is supposed, upon good authority, to have been, in a great measure, caused by his endeavours to reduce the power of the chiefs, and to meliorate the harshness of their despotic sway over the people, while the disaffection of the chiefs to the British government, at this time, arose from a similar cause, an emancipation of the lower orders of the population from the bondage of compulsory labour.

The apprehension of the memorialists, in regard to the dismemberment of the Kandyan country, and the abolition of the honourable offices of the first and second adikar, was well founded. The ancient kingdom of Kandy is now incorporated with the maritime provinces, the whole island being divided into five provinces, namely, 1*st*, Western Province; 2*d*, Southern Province; 3*d*, Northern Province; 4*th*, Eastern Province; 5*th*, Central Province; the revenue and judicial departments being administered chiefly by Europeans. The offices of first and second adikar have been abolished. A few Kandyans continue to be employed in subordinate situations where they have little influence. Distinction, high place, and power, the objects of laudable ambition, are, by our assumption of the government of the country, placed beyond the attainments of its indigenous population of every class and grade. Hitherto, it seems to have been an inevitable consequence of our position, as

foreign conquerors, in India, to supersede and suppress the native dignitaries. It is confessedly difficult to avoid intrusting all real authority to Europeans, and thereby conferring upon them a monopoly of power and influence; but it is quite obvious that the exclusion of the natives of a country from having any share in its government cannot fail to excite discontent.

"There is no doubt," says Lieutenant De Butts, "that many of the adikars, dissaves, and other chiefs, who, although subject to the *fiat* of royalty, formerly ruled as lords paramount in their respective provinces, regard our levelling sway with no other feelings but those of hatred and undying enmity."—(*Rambles in Ceylon, by Lieutenant De Butts*, p. 157.)

We are told that civilization marches in the rear of conquest, and that barbarous nations have received this boon from the refined and polished blades of their victors. True civilization implies a gradual advancement of a people in wealth and prosperity, and the moral and intellectual improvement of the population. It would be highly interesting to know what means have been taken by the British government to develop the moral and intellectual faculties of the people, and to promote the industrious arts, and what has been the general result of British rule in ameliorating the condition of the different classes of the population of the Kandyan country, and in promoting an amalgamation of feelings and opinions between the conquered and the conquerors.

Both the privileges and the thraldom of castes or classes of the population have been abolished, and civil liberty among all ranks established. The poorer classes have, by this means, acquired valuable rights, while the importance and dignity of the wealthy have been dimi-

nished. The native landed proprietors have been denuded of political power, and deprived of the hope of obtaining personal consideration, except by superior knowledge, or the acquisition of riches, modes of attaining distinction to which they have not been trained, and to which they are little disposed. Dissatisfaction must therefore be for a long time expected, as no effectual attempt has been made, or is making, to equalize the privileges and immunities of the white and black races, and the distinction between the Europeans and indigenous inhabitants is as wide as ever. The poorer classes of the Kandyans have not been much accustomed to continuous exertion, and rarely hire themselves as labourers, so that they reap comparatively little benefit from the capital which is invested in the cultivation of sugar and coffee by European planters.

As foreigners, differing in the great elements of nationality, namely, race, language, institutions, and religion, we are so much opposed to the natives of India, (and the same observations will apply to the natives of Ceylon,) that it is not to be expected we can, within a brief period, if ever, establish a cordial or social union with them. Being generally excluded from any participation in the government of their own country, what can be expected of the wealthy classes, but that they should sink into a state of abject submission, with few objects of life beyond indolence and sensual indulgence? Men of the higher ranks, who, under the native government, might have filled the first dignities of the state, have, in consequence of our acquisition of the country, lost all political importance. Degradation excites dissatisfaction, since under no circumstances can they hope to be placed, as to social station, on an equality with natives of the United Kingdom. We protect their lives

and their property, but it has not, as yet, been our policy to rouse their ambition, or to excite them to cultivate the manly and patriotic virtues. We have not attempted to instruct and improve the people, so as that when they could effect our expulsion, they would be able to administer the government of the country themselves. Exclusion from honourable employment must mortify individuals of talent, humble family pride, and degrade all but the poorer classes of the population, the weak, and the worthless. Even in the maritime provinces, we are informed by Casie Chitty, all the "magistracies are filled by burghers, no native having, as yet, been allowed to participate in the benefit they confer, the rank of Maha-modliar being the highest a native can attain." "Many natives," he adds, "may be found who are as competent to discharge the duties, and as capable of filling these places of trust as the burghers." Under such circumstances, a very long period must elapse before the English dominion is interwoven with the social state of the Kandyan population, so as to have a real hold on the minds of the people. Mrs Heber concludes her Journal of a Tour in Ceylon, commencing 25th August 1825, with the following observation: "Glorious as Ceylon is by nature, it has, as yet, had very few of the advantages of civilization."

Hitherto, the population of Ceylon has existed in distinct classes, with but little, if any, assimilation, namely, white and black races, Christian and Heathen, the privileged and the non-privileged; each class speaking a different language; and the equal admissibility of all to public employment, if such a principle exists, is merely nominal. We profess to have an interest in the happiness of the indigenous races, and we intend to make them happy, not in their way, however, but in

ours. We do not recognise their fitness to rule themselves. A better day for the population of our foreign possessions will, however, soon dawn,—it having been declared by high authority, that the colonies must be henceforth dealt with as *integral* parts of the empire. A measure of this kind will, I hope, greatly promote intellectual and moral improvement, intellectual and political freedom. Christianity is the only efficient means of advancing civilization, of repressing selfishness, and promoting benevolence. It was Christianity which first promulgated the fundamental doctrine of human melioration, that all men are equal, and that we should respect and love one another. "If we wish," says Dr Thirlwall, "to promote civilization among the indigenous inhabitants of the British colonies, let us convey to them something that deserves to be transported so far; not only a little measure of our intelligence, of our industry, and our knowledge, and our arts, but those higher blessings without which all the others have no value; those which make men to be indeed men; which are the measure and the test of all the good we enjoy, and the source of all temporal and eternal happiness."—(*Proceedings of a Meeting held in London, March* 19, 1846.)

APPENDIX.

APPENDIX.

No. I.

ADAM'S PEAK.

Text, p. 3.

During the year 1819, Mr Sawers, the Commissioner of Revenue in the Kandyan provinces, and the writer of these pages, visited Adam's Peak, a mountain which has obtained a variety of names. The natives call it *Samanala*, or the hill of *Samen*, and also *Mallua Sree Pada*, or the hill of the holy foot or footstep; while the Mahommedans call it *Baba Aadamalei*. The *Sree Pada*, or sacred impression, on the top of the mountain in question, is held by the Boodhists as a memorial of Boodhoo; the Mahommedans claim it for Adam; and the Hindoos assert that it was Siva who imprinted his footstep on the mountain. The popular name, among Europeans, of this venerated mountain, Adam's Peak, is obviously derived from the name by which it is known to the Mahommedans, Baba Aadamalei.

We left Kandy on the 29th March, and proceeded by Gampola, Ambegamme, Welle Maloo, Doonateboo Oya, and Gan-

galoo Oya, which station may be said to be in the immediate neighbourhood of the Peak. We found the pathway from about Welle Maloo so much overgrown with luxuriant vegetation, that the guides were often at a loss to recognise a path. During the native government, it was customary for the chiefs to visit the Peak by this route, and, as they always travelled with a great retinue, the pathway was annually cleared of the jungle and young trees. These pilgrimages had, however, nearly ceased from the time the English occupied the country. In the month of February 1817, two chiefs, each having about 100 followers, went on a pilgrimage by this route; but from that period it was supposed that not a human being had passed in this direction till we did. I have not learned that the Peak has been visited by this route since 1819.

Owing to the uninhabited state of the country through which a great part of our road lay, we could not expect to be accommodated with a hut to sleep in, and, in anticipation of this contingency, Mr Sawers had provided a tent, on which account the number of his followers was greatly increased. Including the coolies who carried the tent, chair-bearers, baggage-coolies, servants, &c., the whole party consisted of about eighty or ninety individuals. We left Kandy in the expectation that the road would permit of our being carried in a chair, with a bamboo lashed to each side; but, after reaching Ambegamme, we found the road too narrow, and much too rugged, to admit of this mode of conveyance. From this station, therefore, until we reached Palipattoola, a stage beyond the Peak, we prosecuted the journey on foot.

From Gangaloo Oya, the Peak rose abruptly, in the shape of a large tapering dome, being completely covered with jungle, except on a few spots near to the top, where the naked grey rock appeared.

Ascent.—We left our ground at Gangaloo Oya on the morning of the 3d April, at a quarter past seven o'clock. For a short way, our route led up the left bank of the Oya, when it crossed to the right bank. Upon reaching the Oya, the servants and followers commenced the ceremonies of ablution

preparatory to a delivery of their *poojah*, or offering, at the shrine of Boodhoo. The offerings, which were chiefly copper coins, were carried on the head. The pathway up the mountain lay in a deep, narrow, rugged ravine—a water-course in wet weather. When we had accomplished about two-thirds of the ascent, our followers informed us that we had arrived at the place where it was usual to present an offering of needles and thread to Boodhoo. The offering is laid upon a rock which lies on the right of the pathway. Only one needle and thread were found among our party; but, to remedy this want of foresight, as soon as one Boodhist deposited the offering on the rock, it was seized and deposited by another. Near to the summit, the pathway leads over a bare, but not very precipitous rock, in which steps are cut to render the ascent easy. There are also some chains lying over the rock, which are intended to assist pilgrims in their ascent. These chains are fixed into the rock at the upper, but not at the lower end. At about a quarter past nine o'clock we reached the summit.

Summit of the Peak.—This mountain, which is considered sacred by the professors of several very different forms of religion, rises 7420 feet above the level of the sea. The apex is surrounded by a wall about five feet in height, in which there are three openings, two corresponding with the two roads or tracks by which the Peak may be ascended, and one which leads to a well or spring situated without the wall, and a few yards below it. The space enclosed by this wall is about twenty-three paces in one direction, and twelve or thirteen in another. A shelving rock, about nine feet high, and which is the extreme point of the Peak, occupies the centre of this enclosure. Along the inside of the wall, a level space runs all the way round, and, from the outside of the wall, the declivity of the mountain is, in general, very precipitous. The rock, which occupies the centre of the enclosure, is surmounted by an open shed, constructed of wooden posts and a roof, which is attached to the rock by means of iron chains. Under this roof is the object of worship, the alleged impression of the left foot of Boodhoo, the *Sree Pada*. The cavity which bears this

name is but a very rude resemblance of a human foot, and appears to have been partly hewn out of the solid rock, and partly constructed of lime and sand. The outer border, and the elevations which mark the spaces between the toes, are obviously plaster-work. In length, the impression is about five feet six inches, and in breadth two feet six inches; the depth being irregular, varying from one and a half to two inches. The cavity, or foot-print, is surrounded by a border of what appeared to be gilded copper, about three or four inches wide, ornamented with a few gems of no value.

On one side of the rock there is a small hut, six or seven feet square, which is the ordinary residence of a priest, when on duty, but which we occupied while we were on the Peak. There were also two small huts immediately without the gate by which we reached the area. Near to the hut within the enclosure were two bells suspended on frames. The water of the spring already mentioned is supposed to be endued with many virtues. Close to the wall there were a number of tree rhododendrons in full flower, which added greatly to the beauty of the scene.

Pilgrims.—During the north-east monsoon, when the weather is commonly dry on the western side of the island, (*i. e.*, from January till April, inclusive,) the Peak is visited by a number of pilgrims, who come by the way of Saffragam. On our arrival at the summit, there were about forty pilgrims engaged in their devotions before the sacred impression; and during the day a considerable number of parties arrived, consisting of persons of all ages. Some of them were indeed mere children; and others, both men and women, were bent and infirm from old age. They were all obviously dressed in their best clothes. When a party of pilgrims arrived, they generally proceeded to the rock in the centre of the enclosure, which they ascended on the shelving side. They stood for a short time looking at the sacred impression, making occasionally a number of profound *salaams*, putting the palms of the hands together, and holding them before their faces, bending low at the same time, or raising them above the head. While thus employed, they seemed to be muttering some words of devotion. Each individual presented an offering, which was placed on the sacred impression. The offerings were various, consisting, however, generally of copper coin, rice, betel leaves, areka-nuts, cotton cloth, onions, flowers, a lock of the hair of the head, or a portion of a long beard. The offerings, which are a perquisite of the *Tirinancy*, or chief priest in Kandy, are removed soon after they are deposited on the holy footstep. The pilgrims then descended the rock, and formed themselves into a row, with their faces towards the foot-print or *Sree Pada*. Here one of the party opened a small prayer-book, constructed of talipot leaves, (*banna potta*,) and read, or rather chanted, a number of sentences or passages from it. At the end of each passage he was joined by the whole group, male and female, in a loud chorus or response. We did not observe the priests assist the pilgrims in their devotions, although we were informed that they sometimes do so; indeed, when offerings are made at any of the temples, a priest commonly attends and repeats the *Pan Sile*, or five commandments of Boodhoo.

The ceremonies at the sacred impression having been completed, each of the pilgrims rang one of the bells already mentioned, by pulling a string attached to the clapper. They then produced some strips of cloth, which had been previously dipped in oil; these having been lighted, were by some of the pilgrims placed upon a flat iron shelf, erected for the purpose, and by others upon a fragment of a rock. We learn from Davis, that in a Boodhist temple in China, there was a very large bell in one of the courts, which was struck on the outside with a mallet to make it sound; and the reason the priests assigned for so doing was, to rouse the attention of Boodhoo to their prayers.

The pilgrims commonly finished their devotions in about twelve or fifteen minutes, after which they proceeded forthwith to descend the mountain. Most of them, however, first paid a visit to the well. By far the greater number seemed never to cast a look beyond the parapet wall, or to contemplate the magnificent natural objects which surrounded them. Nominal Christians often join in these devotional exercises with apparently as much zeal as the professed Boodhist.

Priests.—We found two priests on duty at the *Sree Pada*, one being a man far advanced in life, the other apparently not much above twenty years of age. Except during the period of the year when pilgrims resort to the Peak, there are no priests upon it. They superintend the collection of the offerings, a lay person being appointed to receive them; but a statement of the amount is kept by the priests. At the end of the pilgrim season the amount of the receipts is transmitted to the *Tirinancy*, or chief priest in Kandy. The annual average of the value of the offerings is about L.250.

Immediately upon our reaching the summit of the Peak, the senior priest waited upon us, and made many inquiries respecting our health, &c. Having learned that we intended to remain there all night, he most earnestly recommended and entreated us to alter our determination in that respect; he said we should certainly be visited with sickness if we re-

mained on the hill all night. As he found our resolution to remain in his neighbourhood was not to be altered, he disappeared, but in a very short time returned, bringing with him a handful of dried plants, a portion of which he gave to each of us. He took great pains to impress us with a belief in the virtues they possessed to prevent disease, when worn as an amulet. Some of them, he said, would protect us from bears and elephants, and others from evil spirits, &c. To one plant he attributed the virtue of preventing misfortune, sickness, and evils of all kinds.

A little before sunset, the senior priest, accompanied by a boy bearing a small parcel, repaired to the *Sree Pada*. Having made a number of profound reverences, he took from the parcel a small bell, which he rung over the impression, and then laid it aside, followed by a number of profound *salaams* or reverences. From the parcel he next took a fan, which he waved for a considerable time over the foot, followed by a number of low bows. A piece of cotton cloth was then deposited for about a minute upon the impression, and then removed, followed by the usual number of *salaams*. The foot was then strewed over with flowers, which were permitted to remain. The ceremonies for the day being finished, the priest returned to his hut, accompanied by the boy and his bag of sacerdotal implements.

An opinion prevails amongst the natives of Ceylon, that no one but a priest can reside with impunity even for a night on the Peak, and the priests seem to be impressed with the same belief, disease or death being the penalties to which it is said transgressors are liable. There are several temples in Ceylon, —Katteragau, for example, which the natives are unwilling to approach unless for a specific purpose, being filled with a superstitious dread and awe, arising from their belief in the influence of malevolent deities or devils. In consequence of this delusion, it was with much difficulty that Mr Sawers prevailed upon his servants and followers to remain on the Peak all night. Being unprovided with any accommodation, it must be admitted that they were exposed to much discomfort,

and a degree of cold not known in Ceylon except in a similar situation.

Atmospheric Phenomena.—On our reaching the summit of the Peak, the clouds, which were far below where we stood, were rising in mist, and rapidly disappearing. Here and there large masses of white vapour or mist lay in the spaces which intervened between high mountains, where the sun's rays had but partially reached. Portions of these masses rose at intervals, and were rapidly dissipated by the incumbent stratum of warm air. The atmosphere above us was all day free from clouds, the sky being a deep or rather a dark blue. The heat of the sun was not ardent, nor was the light strong. Although there were no impending clouds, several slight showers fell during the day.

It would be in vain for me to attempt to describe the beauty of the magnificent scene which engaged our attention for a great part of the time we were on the Peak. On each side of the mountain we gazed with delight over an irregular surface of mountains, hills, and ridges, covered with trees and foliage, variously coloured with different shades of brown, green, and red. Tropical forests have always an autumnal appearance, probably from the constant reproduction and decay of the foliage. Mountains, hills, precipices, rivulets, and even the trees, were seen at a great distance with unusual distinctness.

Towards sunset, our attention was much directed to the rapid formation of clouds, and to their seemingly fantastical changes in appearance and rapid motions. In one place we perhaps saw distinct masses lying quite still on the surface of the earth, while in their immediate or near neighbourhood other clouds were in rapid motion, sometimes in a horizontal and at others in a vertical direction.

A view of another kind presented itself towards midnight. The moon shone bright, while the clouds were at rest, apparently reposing on the surface of the earth, presenting a uniform stratum of the finest white down or rather snow, diversified by the dark-coloured peaks and mountains which appeared above it. If the reader can imagine a pure white sea, inter-

spersed with a number of densely-wooded and dark-coloured islands, some idea may be formed of the moonlight view we enjoyed.

For some time before sunrise, the sky towards the East had a bright flame colour, indicative of the approach of day; and as there were no clouds above us, the sun burst forth suddenly in all his glory, the shadow of the mountain extending, at the same time, apparently for fifty or sixty miles towards the west. In proportion as the sun rose in the sky, light and floating vapours began to ascend from the upper surface of the clouds, and the whole mass below soon seemed to be in a state of transition and rapid motion. Here, however, our observations terminated, having at half-past six o'clock left the summit to commence our descent of the mountain.

Temperature.—The temperature of the air in the shade ranged during the day from 64° to 68°.

At 8 p.m. it was	57°.
9 „	55½°.
1 a.m.	53°.
3 „	51½°.
6 „	55°.

The temperature of the spring already mentioned at six o'clock a.m. was 53°.

Descent.—The declivity from the summit by the Saffragam road is much more precipitous than the Kandyan side of the cone. At several places the track leads over a bare, smooth, precipitous rock, upon which chains, fixed at one end, are lying for the purpose of assisting the pilgrims. The cone of rock near the summit seems to overhang the lower part of the mountain, by which means a view is obtained which is truly awful; at one angle the view downwards is frightful, and not without danger. Pilgrims, at this part of the ascent, have, by looking down, become giddy, and falling, have lost their lives. We were occupied about twenty-five minutes in de-

scending the precipitous apex of the Peak. At two o'clock p.m. we reached Palepattoola, and next day arrived at Ratnapoora, where we embarked on the Kalu Ganga for Caltura.

No. II.

MOOTOO SAWMY AND THE LOCAL GOVERNMENT.

Text, p. 87.

Articles of Convention entered into between his Highness Prince Mootoo Sawmy on the one part, and his Excellency Frederick North, Governor, Captain-General, and Commander-in-Chief in and over the British Settlements on the Island of Ceylon, on the other part, for the attainment of the just objects of the present war, the speedy restoration of peace, and the general security and happiness of the inhabitants of this island.

Article I. The British Government in Ceylon agrees to deliver over to Prince Mootoo Sawmy the town of Kandy, and all the possessions dependant on the crown of Kandy, now occupied by the British arms, excepting the province of the Seven Corles, the two hill forts of Giriagamme and Galgederah, and a line of land not exceeding in breadth the half of a Singalese camondry across the Kandyan territories, for the purpose of making a direct road from Colombo to Trincomalee, which road shall not pass through the district known by the name of the Gravets of the town of Kandy, which aforesaid province, forts, and line of land, Prince Mootoo Sawmy hereby solemnly agrees to cede in full sovereignty to his Britannic Majesty for ever.

II. Prince Mootoo Sawmy further engages, that he will consider the enemies of his Britannic Majesty's imperial crown as his own enemies; and that he will not, directly or indirectly, enter into any treaty or negotiation with any prince or state, without the consent of his said Britannic Majesty, or of the governor of his settlements on Ceylon for the time being.

III. As Prince Mootoo Sawmy is undoubted heir to the last lawful King of Kandy, the British government will recognise him as King of Kandy, as soon as he shall have taken upon himself that title with the usual solemnities, and ratified the present convention; and in case the said prince should require an auxiliary force to maintain his authority, the British government shall afford him troops; the expense of such troops, during their employment in the service of the said prince, being to be defrayed by him, at a rate to be agreed on.

IV. It is mutually agreed, that all duties on the common frontier shall be abolished, and none established except by mutual consent.

V. It is agreed by Prince Mootoo Sawmy, that all Malays now resident in the Kandyan territories shall be sent with their families into the British territories, as shall likewise all Europeans and Portuguese who may not obtain a license from the governor of the British possessions to reside in the said Kandyan territories; and all Europeans and Portuguese, who may commit crimes within the Kandyan territories, shall be sent to the British territories for trial.

VI. It is mutually agreed, that all natives of Ceylon or of India, except such Portuguese as are mentioned in the last article, shall be subject to the laws and tribunals of the country where the offence may have been committed.

VII. Prince Mootoo Sawmy promises and agrees, that he will protect, to the utmost of his power, the monopoly of cinnamon enjoyed by the British government; that he will allow the cinnamon peelers belonging to the said British government to gather cinnamon in his territories to the west of the Balany Kandy; and that he will furnish as much cin-

namon as may be required, at the price of forty-six dollars per bale of eighty pounds.

VIII. Prince Mootoo Sawmy also engages to permit persons duly authorised by the British government to cut wood in all his forests.

IX. The said prince also engages not to prohibit, either directly or indirectly, the exportation of paddy grain and areca-nut from his territories without consent of the British government.

X. Prince Mootoo Sawmy furthermore engages to give a safe-conduct to the prince lately on the throne to retire into the British territories with his family, and to allow him a certain sum for his maintenance, which shall be agreed upon hereafter by the parties to these articles, provided it be not less than five hundred rix-dollars per mensem during the term of his natural life.

XI. And for the better re-establishment of public tranquillity, Prince Mootoo Sawmy engages to allow such persons as have rendered themselves obnoxious to him, by opposing his just claims, to retire with their wives and families, money, jewels, and moveable property, into the British territory on Ceylon, there to remain unmolested.

XII. It is moreover stipulated, that every encouragement shall be given by each party to the subjects of the other, in prosecuting fair and lawful commerce.

XIII. The subjects of his Britannic Majesty, duly authorised by the British government on Ceylon, shall have liberty to travel with their merchandise throughout the Kandyan territories, to build houses, and purchase and sell their goods without let or hinderance.

XIV. The subjects of the crown of Kandy shall, on the other hand, be allowed to settle and carry on trade in the British settlements on Ceylon, and to purchase and send into Kandy all merchandises, salt, salt-fish, &c., on the same terms with the native subjects of his Britannic Majesty.

XV. The British government shall be allowed to examine the rivers and water-courses in the Kandyan territories, and

shall be assisted by the Kandyan government in rendering them navigable, for the purposes of trade, and the mutual advantages of both countries.

XVI. For the more perfect maintenance of these articles, and of good understanding and amity between the contracting parties, Prince Mootoo Sawmy consents and agrees that a minister, on the part of the British government, shall be permitted, whenever it may be required, to reside at the court of Kandy, and be received and protected with the honours due to his public rank and character.

XVII. These articles being agreed upon between Prince Mootoo Sawmy and the governor of the British settlements on Ceylon, shall be immediately transmitted to his Majesty for his royal confirmation, and shall, in the meantime, be acted upon with good faith by both the contracting parties, according to their true intent and meaning.

No. III.

Text, p. 89.

A Convention having been entered into between the British government of Ceylon and his Majesty King Mootoo Sawmy, the illustrious Lord Pilimi Talawa, first adikar of the court of Kandy, the second adikar, and the other nobles of the court, agree to, and become parties in the same,—

On condition that his Majesty King Mootoo Sawmy deliver over the administration of the provinces belonging to the crown of Kandy to the aforesaid Pilimi Talawa, with the title of Ootoon Komarayen, (or Grand Prince,) during the term of his natural life, and continue to reside and hold his court at Jaffnapatam, or in such other part of the British territories on

Ceylon as may be agreed on between his said majesty and the British government.

And for the proper maintenance of his royal dignity, the aforesaid Pilimi Talawa engages to pay annually to his said majesty the sum of 30,000 rix-dollars, in British currency, and to fulfil all the engagements entered into by his majesty with the British government.

And for the better security of the payment of the sums stipulated to be paid to King Mootoo Sawmy, as well as to the king lately on the throne of Kandy, the said Pilimi Talawa agrees to deliver to the British government at Colombo, in the course of every year, the amount of 20,000 ammonams of good areca-nut, each ammonam containing 24,000 nuts, at the rate of six rix-dollars, British currency, per ammonam, to be paid by the agents of the said Pilimi Talawa to the said British government, in coined copper to that amount, or in such other articles as may be agreed on between the parties; and the British government will, in that case, charge itself with the payment of the allowance stipulated for both those princes.

And the adikar Pilimi Talawa agrees to cede, in perpetuity, to the British government the village and district of Goniavile, (or Elevele,) now called Fort Macdowal, in exchange for the hill-fort of Giriagamme, which the British government cedes again to Pilimi Talawa.

And it is still further agreed upon, that all the princes and princesses of the royal family, now in confinement, shall be immediately set at liberty, and allowed to settle, with their personal property, wherever they choose; and that a general amnesty and pardon shall be observed on both sides, as well towards those who have opposed, as towards those who have supported, the claims of King Mootoo Sawmy in the late or any former contest.

And it is hereby agreed by his Majesty King Mootoo Sawmy, on his part, by his Excellency Frederick North, governor of the British possessions on Ceylon, on the part of his government, and by the illustrious Lord Pilimi Talawa, first adikar, on his part, and on that of the second adikar and principal

nobles of the court, that the articles above agreed upon shall be carried into effect, fully and completely, as soon as the prince lately on the throne of Kandy shall be delivered into the hands of the British government, and that, till then, a perfect truce and cessation of hostilities shall continue between all the contracting partics.

And the said contracting parties have, in faith thereof, set to the said articles their seals, and signed them with their names respectively.

(Signed) FREDERICK NORTH, and
PILIMI TALAWA, *in Singalese.*

No. IV.

CORPORAL BARNSLEY'S DEPOSITION AND NARRATIVE.

Text, p. 105.

1.—CORPORAL BARNSLEY'S DEPOSITION, made June 27, 1803, before Captain Madge and Captain Pierce, of the 19th Regiment, and Assistant-Surgeon Gillespie, of the Malay Regiment.

"That on the 23d June, a little before daylight, the Kandyans commenced an attack on the hill-guard, in rear of the palace, on which was a three-pounder, and took it. That soon after, a strong body of the enemy, headed by a Malay chief, made a charge on the eastern barrier to endeavour to take a gun which was there; they were opposed by Lieutenant Blakeney, at the head of a few men of the 19th, who himself fell in the conflict. That an incessant fire was kept up until two o'clock in the day, when, as the enemy was endeavouring

to break in at the rear of the palace, Major Davie hung out a flag of truce, offering to surrender the town on being permitted to march out with his arms. This they consented to; and Major Davie, after spiking the guns, marched out about five o'clock, and proceeded to Watapaloga, where he was obliged to halt all night, being unable to pass the river. Next morning the Kandyans sent out four Modeliers to propose, that if Major Davie would give up Mootoo Sawmy, (the king whom Governor North placed on the throne of Kandy, and who retreated with our troops,) they would assist him with boats and rafts to cross the river. On which Major Davie gave him up by his own consent. After which another message was sent, that there were plenty of bamboos and other materials at hand, and that they might make rafts for themselves. All that day was employed in endeavouring to make rafts, but they could not succeed in getting a rope across the river, owing to the depth and rapidity of the current; but next day, about ten o'clock, Captain Humphries, of the Bengal Artillery, came and reported that he had succeeded in getting a rope across. About this time, some of the Malays and Gun-Lascars began to desert in small parties, upon which Major Davie ordered the remainder to ground their arms, and follow him, with all the officers, back to the garrison. As soon as they had proceeded two hundred yards on their way thither, the Kandyans stopped them, took the officers on one side, and kept them prisoners for half an hour, when, this declarant says, he heard shots in the direction of the place where the officers were prisoners, and which was followed by their massacre. That immediately after, they took the European soldiers two by two, and leading them a few yards along the road, knocked them down with the butt-end of their pieces, and beat out their brains. That this declarant was also led out with his comrade, and received a blow under the right ear, and a wound on the back of his neck, which the enemy conceiving to be sufficient, then proceeded to the murder of the remainder. That he lay as dead for some time, and in that situation distinctly heard the firing, which he supposed to be the putting them all to

death. That he took the opportunity, while this was doing, of crawling into the jungle, (forest,) where he lay till night, and then proceeded to Fort Macdowal to give the information to Captain Madge.

(Signed) "GEORGE ⋈ BARNSLEY,
"*Corporal*, 19*th Regiment*."

2.—CORPORAL BARNSLEY'S NARRATIVE.

Text, p. 105.

The following "Narrative," or account of the massacre at Watapologa, and of Captain Madge's retreat to Trincomalee, was drawn up at the request of Corporal Barnsley, and according to his dictation, at Trincomalee, by Bombardier Alexander, shortly after Captain Madge and his detachment reached that garrison. Bombardier Alexander was a nephew of the late Major Alexander, successively Captain in the 19th and 3d Ceylon Regiments. The Bombardier had received a good common education; and Mr Howel, the editor of his Biography, bears ample testimony to his character for strict veracity:—

"Before the period at which the command devolved upon Major Davie, of the Malay corps, the whole troops had been quite worn out by sickness and fatigue. The weather was dreadful; for three days the rain had poured in incessant torrents; and the army was in full retreat, on the faith of a convention made with the treacherous natives. When they arrived on the banks of the Maha Villa Ganga, which the rains had swollen to a great height, a few of the sick, who had been left under the care of the natives, joined the retreating army, with the horrible information that the Kandyans had commenced killing these poor helpless men, and that it was with difficulty they had escaped. This threw a damp over the minds of the whole army, who were busily preparing rafts to cross the river. When they were ready, some of the native troops swam across with the warps; and so far all was right,

and they still had hope of escaping, when suddenly the rascally natives [Kandyans?] cut the tow-lines before their eyes. Many of them [native troops?] had already deserted to the enemy, whom Barnsley saw firing upon the English in their own uniform. As soon as this act of treachery was perpetrated, all hope fled, as the enemy began to make their appearance on the opposite side, to oppose the passage. Soon after the adikar came down to Major Davie, with a proposal for him to deliver up Mootoo Sawmy (the lawful king, who had been crowned at Kandy, while General Macdowal was there) to the Kandyans, and the army would be assisted to cross the river, and get guides down to Trincomalee. Mootoo Sawmy delivered up his sword to Major Davie. Both of them shed tears at parting. The night was spent in great anxiety, but next day there was no effort made by the Kandyans to enable them to cross the river, nor any appearance of it. In this state of suspense, the adikar came again, and proposed that the British should deliver up their arms, as it would be easier for them in marching, and the Kandyans would be more at their ease in conducting them. This insidious proposal startled Major Davie and his officers, when a council of war was called. At the same time, two or three of the oldest soldiers of the 19th waited respectfully upon the Major, and requested that they might be allowed to hold a council at the same time by themselves, which was refused. Unfortunately, it was agreed by the council to comply; the men reluctantly obeyed with loud murmurs, and some of the more ardent spirits boldly called out not to do it. The unfortunate Major, whose mind was in a dreadful agony, gave the word, 'Ground your arms,' then recalled it for a short time, during which he destroyed all his papers. At length the fatal act was done, and the troops marched to a distance from their arms, and halted, when the Europeans were separated from the native troops. Then the officers were likewise separated from the privates, and Corporal Barnsley saw them no more.

"They were then marched to a greater distance from their arms, and halted, when the Kandyans came close up to them,

staring in their faces, and demanding their clothes and other little articles. One of them seized the neckcloth of an Irish lad, one of the 19th, and began to pull it; he knocked him down at his feet. They stood thus some time exposed to insult, when an adikar came running down to them, and immediately two Kandyans seized the two men on the right, and led them out of sight, and soon after returned for two more. This was repeated several times before the unfortunate victims began to suspect the dreadful work that was going on. They were stupified with horror; yet many were collected. One instance Barnsley often mentioned:—As they were leading off two of their victims, one of them, who had ten pagodas wrapped in a rag, took them out of his pocket and threw them into the bush. At length it came to poor Barnsley's turn, who, more dead than alive, passively walked to the fatal spot, strewed with the bodies of his countrymen. The executioners, with their large swords, chopped their victims down; the sword fell upon the back of his neck, his head fell upon his breast, the sinews of his neck were cut through; he got but one chop, and became deprived of all sensation. When his recollection returned, the groans of the poor wretches were dreadful. When he opened his eyes, he saw several of the natives with ginjal, or wall-pieces, stalking over the heaps of slain, beating every one on the head, whether life was extinct or not. During this sight of horror he lay as still as death, receiving only one blow on the head, which again deprived him of sensation. When this butchery was complete, they began to strip the dead. He was himself stripped during his unconsciousness; and, upon his return to recollection, there was only his shirt upon his body, which was a very bad one, or it had gone with the rest.

"The next recollection he had was of a great shouting and tumult. He attempted to rise, but his head fell forward upon his breast. Anxious to know the cause, yet fearful of being observed by the barbarians, he rose on all-fours, and supporting his head with his left hand, he could distinctly see a great concourse of them, as if assembled round some object of

curiosity, those on the outside jumping up, stretching their necks as if to gain a sight of something that was going on in the centre. At this time he distinctly heard pistol-shots, and supposed it was the English officers shooting themselves, as they had their pistols concealed when the arms were delivered up; besides, he had heard some of his own officers say they would shoot themselves rather than be chopped down, if they saw no other alternative. This happened in the dusk of the evening. As soon as it was dark he crawled into the bushes, which were close at hand, and, in the best manner he could, made for the brink of the river, which was at no great distance; yet it was a toilsome journey to him.

"When daylight came, he saw a Kandyan busy cutting up the raft. The river had fallen much, for the rain had ceased. As soon as he perceived the Kandyan, he went more to the right to be out of his view. When he came to the banks again, he found the river too wide for him at this place; and recollecting having seen a bend in it, where the stream was not so broad, he urged his painful course towards it, supporting his head with one hand under his chin, and the other under his elbow to aid it. Here he plunged in, swimming with his right arm, and holding his head out of the water with his left. In the middle of the stream he had nearly perished; the current was so strong it hurried him along with it; to prevent which he had, in desperation, to use both arms, when his head fell under the water, and he was nearly suffocated. Again he raised it; the strength of the current was past, and he reached the opposite bank in a very exhausted state, where he lay for some time, with part of his body in the river, and his breast and arms upon its banks. Anxious to get as far as possible from the scene of his suffering, and conscious of his exposed situation, he made an effort to rise, and with horror saw a Kandyan on the top of the bank upon which he had landed, gazing at him. Concealment was now out of his power; his resolution was at once taken, and he advanced boldly towards the Kandyan, who retreated in terror to a small distance. The poor corporal made signs for him

to give him his mat to cover him, as the Kandyan showed no hostility nor wish to do him harm, and the rain had again set in. At length the Kandyan took it off, and held it out upon the end of his staff, saying, 'Po, po,' (go.) He accordingly wrapped it round him, and made the best of his way in the direction of Fort Macdowal.

"Shortly after, he came to a level part of the country, where there were a great many foot-marks, for the ground was very soft on account of the rain. His wound pained him much, and his head ached dreadfully from the blow he had got with the gun. Much as the rain incommoded him, he was pleased at its continuance, for it was a great means of effecting his escape, the Kandyans seldom leaving their huts in wet weather.

"Towards evening he came to a tract of rising land, where he found a deserted house which wanted the roof. Here he took up his abode, and passed a night of the most acute suffering. The rain poured down upon him in torrents; his wound felt as if a red-hot iron lay on it, and almost drove him to despair; the night appeared to him an age, and though he wished anxiously for day, he knew not, when it arrived, what was to be his fate; but any thing was preferable to the agony he suffered from his wound, which the inclemency of the weather now irritated more keenly than he could almost endure.

"As soon as daylight came, he examined the house in vain for some article or other that might be of use to him. At last he went out and gathered a few leaves; their properties were unknown to him, but they were to cool his wound. He then tore up his shirt, and dressed it, for the first time, in the best manner he could, and then began to descend towards his left, and shortly after saw smoke rising out from among some trees. Cautiously approaching the spot, and peeping over the bushes, he saw a number of Indians, a savage race, who live by rapine and murder, and are said to be cannibals. They are tributary to the King of Kandy, and get from him a reward for every white man they can kill. He silently withdrew, and again began to ascend to the top of the height he had left. The op-

posite side was so steep and slippery, that he was under the necessity of sliding down on his breech. The country became again more level, and was interspersed with wood. Here he met a boy carrying two bundles of firewood on a slip of bamboo, over his shoulder, who, immediately on seeing him, dropped his load and fled to the bushes. He took no notice, but hurried on, weary and faint from his wound and hunger. Thus he proceeded, concealing himself in the best manner he could, until he met two men and a boy, who stopped him, and began to converse amongst themselves, often pointing to him. He knew not what they conversed about, but made all the signs he could think of to obtain their pity. At length one of them gave him a small cake of their country black bread. He put it to his lips, but was unable to open his mouth, not having the power of his jaws, (it was long after before he could chew his food;) he broke it off in small pieces, and in vain attempted to swallow a little. At length they made signs for him to follow them, and made no motion as if they were going to do him any injury. He walked with them for a considerable time; at length they came to some houses, where there were a good many native soldiers, and he was put into a back apartment of one of them. Soon after, one of their chiefs came to him, and made signs to him to prostrate himself upon the ground before him, which he did. The chief then departed, and, soon after, a quantity of excellent curry and rice was brought him. With much trouble and pain he eat some of it: the swallowing it constituted his greatest difficulty.

"The tom-toms were then beat, and the army collected, in a short time, to the number of about 5000 men and boys. Having placed him in the centre, they moved on in a crowd, in silence, without any appearance of military order, all crowding round and staring at him. At this moment his mind was in great agitation, being unconscious what was to be his fate. At length they came to a pagoda, (a saumah house,) and he now thought his doom was fixed, and that he had been brought there to be sacrificed to their god. To his great relief, however, they passed on, leaving him in as great uncertainty

as ever what was to be his fate. At length his agitation became so great, that his mind grew confused, and he walked onward, almost unconsciously, until they came in sight of Fort Macdowal, when they halted. Fort Macdowal is sixteen miles from Kandy, on the road to Trincomalee.

"The chief then came up to him, and caused a ginjal-piece to be brought and placed to his shoulder, ready cocked. He did not know the meaning of all this, but thought they meant him to fight against the English, or they would put him to death. He was going to pull the trigger, as a signal that he would do any thing they commanded, when the chief, who was an old man, caused it to be taken from him, and smiled. After a great deal of dumb show, with the assistance of some of the natives who spoke the Malabar language, of which he knew a little, he was made to understand that the chief wished the English to come out of Fort Macdowal, and fight him in the open ground. When he saw that Barnsley understood what he meant, he was allowed to proceed, along with two of the natives, to deliver his message, and they conducted him to the bottom of the hill where the fort stood. As soon as they came near it, they said, 'Po, po,' and left him, happy to be out of their hands. At his near approach, the sentinel was struck with terror at his emaciated figure and ghastly look. He was conducted to Captain Madge, commander of the fortress at the time, who was thunderstruck at his appearance, and the melancholy tidings he bore. The first words he said were, 'The troops in Kandy are all dished, your honour.' Captain Madge, in astonishment, required an explanation, which was too easily given, when he immediately ordered the guns to be spiked, and arrangements made for evacuating the fort, which was done about ten o'clock, after the moon had sunk behind the hills. All the sick were left to the mercy of the enemy, who had already shown that they had none. The lamps were left burning, and the march was commenced in silence. This, however, was soon discovered, and those of the sick who were most able followed the line of march until they dropped. Poor Barnsley, after having his ghastly wound dressed by the

surgeon, marched on, supporting his head by his hands, as he had done all along, and arrived, with those who were able to keep up, on the Cottiar shore, where the man-of-war boats were stationed, who took them on board, and brought them to Trincomalee, which they reached on the 3d July."—(*Life of Bombardier Alexander Alexander, written by himself, and edited by John Howel*, vol. i. p. 112.)

No. V.

LETTERS TO CAPTAIN JOHNSTON FROM THE ACTING ADJUTANT-GENERAL.

Text, p. 123.

COPY OF TWO LETTERS addressed to Captain Johnston, by order of General Wemyss.

(Most secret.)

Trincomalee, September 3, 1804.

SIR,—In the event of your not having marched towards Arriagam, you are directed to have a strong detachment in perfect readiness, as soon as possible, to march to Kandy by the route of Uwa. To enable you to equip a strong force, a detachment of Europeans and natives will march from this as soon as the weather clears, and, when joined by it, you will proceed towards the enemy's country, arranging so as to be within eight days' march of the town of Kandy on the 20th instant, which is the day fixed for the commencement of general co-operations. You will then proceed direct upon Kandy, not doing any injury to the country or people, unless opposed;

and, as different detachments are ordered to march precisely on the 20th, for general co-operation for the destruction of the enemy's capital, the various columns will be put in motion from Colombo, Hambantote, Trincomalee, Negombo, Chilow, and Putlam, the whole to be within eight days' march of Kandy on the 20th instant, and, on the 28th or 29th, the commander of the forces fully expects a general junction on the heights of Kandy.

The general fully relies on the execution of these instructions; and, from your well-known zeal and activity, he has no doubt of a perfect completion of his wishes.

I have the honour to be,
Sir,
Your obedient Servant,
(Signed) R. Mowbray,
Act. D. Adj.-Gen.

To Captain Johnston,
Commanding Batticallo.

Jaffnapatam, 8th September 1804.

Sir,—The commander of the forces directs you will, on receipt of this, reduce your division to 300 men, as you will then be enabled to have a sufficiency of coolies for the purpose of entering the enemy's dominions. As some unforeseen obstacles have prevented the various columns forming the intended junction about the 28th or 29th instant, on the heights of Kandy, agreeably to the instructions transmitted to you on the 3d instant, you are directed to march on the 20th of this month, bending your course towards the province of Uwa, and form junction, at the entrance of that part, [province?] with the detachment ordered from Hambantote, which will march the same day, the 20th instant, by the route of Katragamme, on the great road leading to Kandy, which is frequented by the king for visiting that temple.

You will, in junction with the other detachments, concert such measures as will best tend to effect the greatest devastation and injury to the enemy's country.

All persons found in arms, to be immediately made examples of, and the peaceful and defenceless peasant to be spared.

You will note, in writing, all observations relative to the country, as our future operations will be guided by them in that part, and transmit your journal to me for the general's information.

I have the honour to be, &c.

(Signed) R. Mowbray,
Act. D. Adj.-Gen.

To Captain Johnston,
Commanding Batticallo.

No. VI.

BOMBARDIER ALEXANDER'S ACCOUNT OF CAPTAIN JOHNSTON'S EXPEDITION.

Text, p. 130.

The following account of Captain Johnston's expedition, which was published in Howel's Life of Bombardier Alexander, appears to have been compiled by Alexander from oral information received from soldiers who belonged to Captain Johnston's detachment, and survived the retreat :—

"Captain Johnston, being a brave and enterprising officer, pushed on with the utmost despatch, in order to reach the capital first. So rapid were his movements, that the tapal sent after him was unable to overtake the army, until they were too far into the country; he being afraid to follow, returned, so that Captain Johnston had no knowledge of what had taken place. To the great joy of Captain Johnston and his army, they reached the capital in safety, without opposition, and found it deserted. All they saw was a little boy

weeping, a woman over whose fate humanity forces me to draw a veil, and a white rat. The poor boy was allowed to escape, the rat was taken prisoner. Captain Johnston was so much pleased with it, he resolved to have great care taken of it, as he meant to have it carried home to Ireland as a present for his mother; but, flushed with success, one of the 19th wantonly exclaimed, 'All flesh is grass,' and killed it, for which the Captain confined him; but his confinement was of short duration.

"Not in the least alarmed at not finding any of the other divisions before them, but rather rejoicing, anticipating the glorious advantage they would have in plundering as soon as the others appeared, they anxiously looked for their arrival to begin. At length some of the 19th, who had been in the capital before, and were partly acquainted with the place, discovered some arrack in the palace, placed there by the troops of the former expedition, and left in their hurried retreat. The discoverers, forgetting their situation, abandoned themselves to it; the drunkenness was spreading fast before the officers perceived and put a stop to it. Still there was no appearance of the arrival of any of the expected divisions, while the enemy were collecting in great numbers upon the adjacent hills. At their first appearance, joy ran through the little army; they were taken for friends, being clothed in the arms and dress of the men they had formerly butchered; but the spy-glass soon made known what they were, the red-coats covered black skins. Still averse, in their desperate circumstances, to be undeceived, they were taken for our own native troops; but the tardiness of their approach, and the fearful increase of their numbers, too soon dispelled this last hope. Unable to account for the delay of the other divisions, which ought to have been up before this time, a dreadful anxiety took the place of their former exultation. The Kandyans were still collecting in immense numbers, and gradually approaching to commence the attack,—a whole kingdom against 300 men. No tongue can express the feelings of intense anxiety that took possession of the little army; the

recollection of the last massacre rushed on their minds; the cry ran through the ranks, 'A massacre, a massacre,—a second massacre; we are sold, we are sold; General Wemyss has sold us; North has sold us; we cannot retreat, it is of no use to try it; let us remain where we are, and fight to the last man.' The whole town resounded with their cries; horror and despair were in every man's face; all was confusion until Captain Johnston, collecting his troops around him, and lifting up his arms to heaven, exclaimed, 'I am innocent; I am innocent of every thing; I neither know the cause, nor any design in this; for if you are sold, I am also sold; but let us not despair, for while we have our arms and life there is hope; but to remain here is certain death, it is the same as if we were to turn our arms against each other, and die by our own hands.' Then, to tranquillize the minds of the men, he pulled out his instructions, and read them over. He then showed where he concealed them on his person, that, in the event of his being killed, they might not be lost. This being done, he coolly and seriously recommended an immediate retreat, strictly enjoining order and regularity, together with obedience to orders, and, above all, silence; keeping close together, and waiting for each other, and on no account to separate, as, if the front were heedlessly to push on, the rear must be separated from it, and both become an easy prey to the enemy. 'Men,' he cried, 'be careful of your ammunition; do not heedlessly fire it away, or allow it to be damaged, for on that depends our safety. Remember the massacre of our countrymen two years ago, whose bones we passed over the other day, and have again to pass over. To avoid such a sad fate, be firm, be cool, and upon all occasions obedient to orders, and we shall yet reach our countrymen in safety.'

"Just at this time, old Serjeant Simpson, of the Artillery, who was of a dogmatical and careless turn of mind, in the middle of this confusion had, through negligence, allowed fire to be somehow introduced among some live carcases which were lying strewed about, by which he himself was severely wounded in the breech, one of the 19th killed, and several

others more or less hurt. The circumstances of the times did not admit of any inquiry to punish the defaulters; but it was a severe misfortune, 'as,' Captain Johnston truly said, 'one white face at this time was worth a hundred at any other,' as the enemy did not hesitate to attack the native troops, but were always inspired with terror at the sight of the Europeans.

"Every moment's delay only served to increase the danger, as the enemy could be seen thickening on every side. The little army was completely surrounded by overwhelming numbers: the wounded were placed in doolies, (a common kind of palanquin for carrying the sick,) and borne on the shoulders of the coolies, (natives employed as pioneers to carry burdens or do any hard work.) All being thus arranged, the retreat commenced, and the small army moved down towards the river, keeping as close together as possible. In this order they soon passed over the ground where the bones of their unfortunate countrymen lay whitening in the sun, unburied skulls and thigh-bones mixed together. This sight of horror had a most powerful effect upon the men in their present circumstances, when the same fate appeared almost inevitable for themselves. It added firmness to their resolution, never to submit or lay down their arms to such an enemy, but to die fighting, or suffer any famine or fatigue, rather than be butchered in cold blood by their cowardly foe, whose fears for a white face only allowed them to live for an hour, so overwhelming were their numbers.

"As soon as they came to the side of the river, where Major Davie had before, in vain, attempted to cross, two rafts were made, during which time an attack was made from both sides of the river. The shouts and howlings of the enemy even drowned the report of their ginjal pieces; repeatedly they attempted to cut the warps, without success; the little band succeeded in repassing the river, in which was sunk their little ordnance; the soldiers abandoned their knapsacks, and the officers their baggage; wines, spirits, and provisions, all were destroyed; they reserved only their arms, ammunition,

doolies, ration-arrack, and the tents; every thing else was sacrificed to lighten the men, and facilitate the retreat.

"The enemy gave every obstruction in their power, and did all they could to impede their progress. They seemed inspired with tenfold fury at the success of the troops in crossing the river; a general rush was made upon them from all quarters; the cries were, if possible, redoubled; every effort was made, in vain, to overwhelm this handful of men. After a severe struggle, the enemy at length retired, and a short breathing-time was thus bravely earned, and onwards they moved, melancholy and harassed, but determined in spirit.

"How different did this rich and fertile country appear in the advance from what it now did in the retreat! In the one, the high and craggy rocks, the stately palm, and coco-nut trees, the lofty timber, and rich fields of rice, were all objects of admiration; now that every tree or rock concealed a lurking foe, they were objects of distrust. In many places the roads were so narrow, the army had no other way to march than in Indian file, that is, rank entire. They had wound along these roads, in the advance, with pleasure and admiration, flushed with the hopes of victory and success; now they were the sources of their greatest uneasiness. As the word of command to the troops was given with difficulty, silence being so necessary, it was passed along in a whisper from front to rear, from man to man; besides, they were more exposed to the enemy, who lost no opportunity of annoying them. Every tree and bush seemed to send forth fire; the attacks upon the rear were incessant; while the native troops, at every approach of the enemy, rushed in amongst the whites: they seemed panic-struck: fear and dismay were evident in their dingy faces; and well it might; for the Kandyans rushed upon them with ferocious rage, inspired by the direst hatred; but as soon as half-a-dozen of whites formed, they, in their turn, fled equally dismayed.

"When night came, the troops had not, even then, one moment to repose, but sat with their arms in melancholy silence, while the hills and woods re-echoed the yells of the foe. Their

awful howlings and terrific shouts, during the darkness of the night, were truly appalling: even then the fire was kept up upon the little army.

"Next morning the toilsome march again commenced; it was with difficulty the front could be restrained in their advance, so anxious were all for their own individual safety, unmindful of the consequence either to themselves or their comrades. They had often to be halted until the rear came up; for these were obliged to face about and repel the enemy. The poor Sepoys were so intimidated, that Captain Johnston placed them in the centre, the Europeans being in the van, and the Malays in the rear. These last, although men of small stature, are lively, bold, and active; but they were so often overpowered, that a good many Europeans had to be mixed among them, which rendered them more steady, and dismayed the enemy. Still their assaults were incessant, especially in the passes and defiles of the mountains, where they rolled down huge masses of rock upon the line of march, and had felled large trees across the path, the very branches of which were larger than the trees in Europe.

"The army had a small quantity of salt-beef with them; the rest of their provisions they were forced to forage for; but this was not difficult, for the wild hogs and buffaloes were plentiful, and sweet to eat. Salt was their great want. Troops of elephants often crossed their path. All the animals they killed, though fat and fair, were more or less diseased in the liver.

"Through the dreadful obstructions thrown in their way, and the incessant attacks of the enemy, it was found impossible to carry on the sick and wounded. These, along with the coolies, fell all into the hands of the enemy. Many were taken, their hands and feet bound, their mouths stuffed with grass to prevent their cries, slung upon a bamboo pole, and thus borne off to be butchered like sheep. When the army had occasion to stop, however shortly, numbers secured in this manner wer recovered by their comrades, when missed in time, by a hasty charge with their bayonets.

"In this melancholy march they made but little progress. Their fatigue was great; many became diseased in their bowels, others foot-sore; all were weak and spent; some so much so, that they became unfit to carry their arms. Orders were given for such to take their muskets to pieces, and throw one part of the lock in one place, another in a different, and to break the stock and ramrod, that they might be of no use to the enemy. Thus everything was conducted in the best manner; but no man threw away his arms while he was able to drag them along; and many poor fellows were to be seen with the muzzle in their hands, and the butts trailing on the ground, loathe to part with their only safety; but their distresses came thick upon them in this cursed climate, which fatigue never fails to aggravate.

"As the distress increased, discipline became more and more lax; and the men often refused to obey their officers. This was the case amongst the white troops, the stoutest of whom were much inclined to separate and urge on right forward, every one only taken up with himself. To stop this destructive tendency in the men, required the utmost efforts of the officers, as the non-commissioned officers were as bad as the private men, more especially a Serjeant Baird of the 19th. At one period they fairly refused to obey command, replying to their officers, 'What is the use of our stopping to be lost for a few?' They turned a deaf ear to those in the rear; and the affecting appeals of their officers, who every now and then placed themselves in front, calling out, 'My God! my God!—Stop, men—do stop. Will you not obey command? If you do not, we must all inevitably perish, the front as well as the rear;' while Captain Johnston was almost driven to distraction by their refractory conduct. It was only by reasoning and arguing the point, that any thing was done even for the safety of all.

"At length they arrived in a small plain of a square form, where a simultaneous attack was made upon them from the woods on every side. It was like any thing but a battle such as is usually fought; for the enemy still concealed themselves

behind the trees, which were quite close to the open space, but not extremely thick. Here there was some opportunity of retaliation: all was now the most prompt obedience to every order. Their chiefs, and even the men, were seen flitting amongst the trees. No rash and inconsiderate fire was kept up by the little band; but, as soon as a white turban was seen, two or three muskets were levelled at it. A great many of them fell. Formerly the muskets were only pointed to where the smoke came from;—now the aim was the man himself. This so intimidated the enemy, that they never ventured out upon the British. Two of their chiefs fell, when they immediately ceased firing, and there was an interval of rest.

"A very melancholy scene took place here: Lieutenant Vincent, of the grenadier company of the 19th, received a shot in the groin; it had been rather spent. He walked on with the others until the blood was coming out over the top of his boot at the knee; at length he became quite faint, and was put into a doolie; and also Ensign Smith, who was struck on the breast with a spent ball, which knocked him down. They were sent off by a bye-road, under the care of the guides, with instructions to join again upon the route.

"When poor Vincent was struck, he exclaimed,—'I have caught—I have caught it, men!' All were grieved for him. He begged and implored some of his men to remain beside him, and he would reward them handsomely, as he was well able to do. His appeals were vain,—the danger was so manifest, none would comply. At length he addressed himself to one of his own grenadiers, offering him as a recompense L.500 and his discharge, or whatever he wished he would do for him. To these tempting offers the poor fellow turned a deaf ear. At length he said, 'I will go with you—stand by you—live or die with you; but it is not your reward that makes me do so,—it is pity for you, and the love I bear you; all the world would not otherwise induce me to do so. I will share your fate, come what will—but it is for love alone.' They moved off; Lieutenant Vincent held a penknife open in his hand, resolved not to fall alive into the hands of the enemy.

"All was confusion and altercation about what road they should take. Some were for one route, some for another; some had the folly to call for a council of war, though all that their situation required was implicit and ready obedience to their officers. Small as their numbers were, Captain Johnston could not be omnipresent: his exertions were truly wonderful, and the other officers did all that men could do. But their misery still continued to increase as their strength became exhausted, and the coolies, who bore the sick and wounded, sunk under their loads. To ease them, the doolies were thrown away, and blankets, slung on bamboos, substituted. The weather was extremely hot during the day, excepting when it rained, and the nights and mornings were very cold. This brought on agues, which afflicted almost all the Europeans. Water was also extremely scarce, and, in general, bad when it could be got, being no better than stagnant puddles used by the wild beasts of these forests.

"Still fighting and struggling on, they came to that place where they should have found the three men and the coolies, they having been sent a nearer and safer way; but, alas! they never were heard of; their fate may easily be conceived. Still in hopes that they had gone on, the army proceeded. To add perplexity to their sufferings, the sun became so obscured by clouds, they did not see it for some days. Hitherto, their course, which lay due east, for Trincomalee had been guided by it; now they became completely bewildered. The guides, over whom a strict and jealous watch was kept, had either lost their way, or pretended they had done so: they repeatedly had to climb to the tops of the loftiest trees to look about them.

"Captain Johnston, in this dilemma, had recourse to the whip; he tied up the guides to the trees and flogged them, to make them look sharper. At length the rain began to pour in torrents; it was extremely cold. This, under God, proved the means of their safety; for the Kandyans soon after gave up the pursuit, as they cannot stand the rain and cold. And hus they at length reached Trincomalee, cold, wet, dirty, and tlousy; almost naked, many barefoot and maimed. Officers

and all were alike starved and shrivelled; their countenances haggard; forming an assemblage of the most miserable-looking men it is possible to conceive. All had to go to the hospital on their arrival; their strength appeared only to have endured to this point, then to have utterly deserted them. Indeed, this retreat was as fatal to the men as the massacre had been; for almost all died in the hospital; few, very few, survived.

"The sensation this unfortunate expedition made was very great. There was much murmuring and blame for the fate of Lieutenant Vincent and Ensign Smith. Two trials arose out of it: there was a firm determination to punish some one, and, in these cases, the saddle is not always placed upon the right horse.

"A Serjeant Henry Craven, of the 19th, was turned out of the hospital to the main-guard, and cured there; then tried by a court-martial for cowardice, in skulking behind a tree during the action, and for laughing at one of these officers when he was wounded. Poor Craven stoutly declared his innocence; the evidence was not very distinct; yet he was sentenced to be transported as a felon, for the term of his natural life, to Botany Bay, and remained long in the main-guard a prisoner. He was at length sent on board his Majesty's ship *Bellequeux*, 64 guns, then lying at Trincomalee, to be a sweeper, where he only lived eighteen months, and died of grief; while there was not one word of Serjeant Baird, who behaved so openly bad in encouraging the men to urge forward, he being in front.

"The other trial was that of Lieutenant Virgo, of the Malay Regiment, now the 1st Ceylon. Respecting the two officers, he was treated with great asperity by the officers of the 19th, and was hardly dealt with in his trial. He was sentenced to be suspended from rank and pay for six calendar months, although he was wounded and lost an eye on the retreat.

"Captain Johnston afterwards removed to Colombo; and, being likewise censured by his brother officers, he applied for a general court-martial, and was honourably acquitted. There were a great many excursions into the enemy's country; none

went so far during my stay, or suffered any thing like this; but all the talk soon died away."—(*Life of Bombardier Alexander*, vol. i. p. 149.)

No. VII.

PROCLAMATION BY GENERAL BROWNRIGG, 1815.

Text, p. 148.

PROCLAMATION by his Excellency Lieutenant-General ROBERT BROWNRIGG, Governor and Commander-in-Chief in and over the British Settlements and Territories in the Island of Ceylon, with the Dependencies thereof,

In Council.

His Excellency the Governor and Commander-in-Chief of the British Settlements in the Island of Ceylon could not hear with indifference the prayers of the inhabitants of five extensive provinces, constituting more than one-half of the Kandyan kingdom, who, with one unanimous voice raised against the tyranny and oppression of their ruler, taking up arms in defence of their lives, or flying from his power, implored the protection of the British government, while the most convincing circumstances indicated corresponding sentiments, from the same causes, in other provinces less within the reach of direct communication. Neither could his Excellency contemplate, without the liveliest emotions of indignation and resentment, the atrocious barbarity recently perpetrated in Kandy upon ten innocent subjects of the British government —seven of whom instantly died of their sufferings, and three

miserable victims were sent, in defiance, with their mutilated limbs, across the limits, to relate the distressing tale, and exhibit the horrid spectacle to the eyes of an insulted government, and an indignant people in the capital of the British settlements.

In the perpetrator of these acts, his Excellency convincingly recognises the true author of that implacable animosity which has constantly been opposed to every approach of friendly intercourse, so often attempted on the part of his Majesty's government.

No shadow of doubt now remains that the rejection of all relations of amity originated and continues with the king alone, and that the people are no otherwise parties to such a policy, than as they are compelled to become so by a coercion alike hostile to the British interests, and intolerable to themselves.

To him and his advisers is imputable the impossibility, proved by repeated trials, of terminating, by any just or defined conditions, a state of relations unsettled and precarious beyond all precedent—which bears no essential character of a peace, nor has any title to that appellation—which yields no solid tranquillity or safe intercourse, but perpetuates the alarms of war without its remedies—and which, to continue any longer, after a public unequivocal act of hostility, would be to sanction injury and encourage insult.

By the irresistible influence of these feelings and considerations, his Excellency had become convinced of the unavoidable necessity of resolving to carry his Majesty's arms into the Kandyan country. In this, however, he has been anticipated by the irruption of an armed Kandyan force into the British territory; who, having pursued the fugitive inhabitants across the boundary river of Sitawaka, fired upon them from the opposite bank, and, finally, crossing that river in arms into the Hewagam Korle, proceeded to commit depredations on his Majesty's subjects.

This measure, therefore, supersedes every deliberative consideration, and leaves no choice but that of repelling the hostile forces from the British frontier.

But it is not against the Kandyan nation that the arms of his Majesty are directed; his Excellency proclaims hostility against that tyrannical power alone, which has provoked, by aggravated outrages and indignities, the just resentment of the British nation, which has cut off the most ancient and noble families in his kingdom, deluged the land with the blood of his subjects, and, by the violation of every religious and moral law, become an object of abhorrence to mankind.

For securing the permanent tranquillity of these settlements, and in vindication of the honour of the British name; for the deliverance of the Kandyan people from their oppressions; in fine, for the subversion of that Malabar dominion,* which, during three generations, has tyrannized over the country, his Excellency has resolved to employ the powerful resources placed at his disposal.

His Excellency hereby proffers to every individual of the Kandyan nation the benign protection of the British government; exhorts them to remain without fear in their dwellings, to regard the armed forces who pass through their villages as protectors and friends, and to co-operate with them for the accomplishment of these beneficial objects.

In their march through the country, the most rigorous discipline will be observed by the British troops; the peace-

* To subvert a dominion, or to extirpate a dynasty, is rarely, I believe, assigned as an object for making war: in the present case, it was punishing Kannesamy for the imputed sins of his predecessors. Authors are not agreed in regard to the policy which should guide us in respect to the monarchs of India. Mr Mill seems to think that the British government has no right to assert, in its negotiations, a superiority over the native powers, but that we are bound to deal with the sovereigns of India on the same terms of equality as we should be with any of the established monarchs of Europe. Other authors maintain, that in the counsels of Divine Providence, England stands in India as an ascendant power invested with supremacy in virtue of European civilization, which is destined to supersede and supplant Oriental systems. Those who adopt the latter opinion, seem to assume that we may try the conduct of a community by a different code of morality from that which regulates individuals.

able inhabitants will be protected from all injury in their persons and property, and payment will scrupulously be made for every article of provisions which they furnish. Their religion shall be held sacred, and their temples respected. The power of his Majesty's arms will be exerted only against those who, deserting the cause of their country, oppose the progress of his Majesty's troops, and of their own countrymen united in arms for their deliverance.

Lastly, His Excellency promises, in the name of his Majesty the King of Great Britain, to the chiefs, the continuance of their respective ranks and dignities; to the people, relief from all arbitrary severities and oppressions, with the fullest protection of their persons and property; and to all classes, the inviolate maintenance of their religion, and the preservation of their ancient laws and institutions, with the extension of the blessings resulting from the establishment of justice, security, and peace, which are enjoyed by the most favoured nations living under the safeguard of the British Crown.

By order of the Council,

(Signed) JAMES GAY,

Sec. to Council.

Published by his Excellency's command, in the absence of the Chief Secretary to Government.

(Signed) JAMES GAY,

Dep. Sec. to Govt.

God save the King!

Given at Colombo this 10th day of January 1815.

No. VIII.

OFFICIAL DECLARATION OF THE SETTLEMENT OF THE KANDYAN PROVINCES.

Text, p. 160.

Led by the invitation of the chiefs, and welcomed by the acclamations of the people, the forces of his Britannic Majesty have entered the Kandyan territory, and penetrated to the capital. Divine Providence has blessed their efforts with uniform and complete success. The ruler of the interior provinces has fallen into their hands, and the government remains at the disposal of his Majesty's representative.

In this sacred charge, it is his earnest prayer that the power which has vouchsafed thus far to favour the undertaking, may guide his counsels to a happy issue in the welfare and prosperity of the people, and the honour of the British empire.

Under circumstances far different from any which exist in the present case, it would be a duty, and a pleasing one, to favour the re-establishment of a fallen prince, if his dominions could be fixed on any principles of external relation compatible with the rights of the neighbouring government, or his internal rule in any reasonable degree reconciled to the safety of his subjects.

But the horrible transactions of the fatal year 1803, forced upon the recollection by many local circumstances, and by details unknown before; the massacre of 150 sick soldiers, lying helpless in the hospital of Kandy, left under the pledge of public faith; and the no less treacherous murder of the whole British garrison commanded by Major Davie, which had surrendered on a promise of safety, impress upon the governor's mind an act of perfidy unparalleled in civilized warfare, and an awful lesson, recorded in characters of blood, against

the momentary admission of future confidence; while the obstinate rejection of all friendly overtures, repeatedly made during the intermission of hostilities, has served to evince an implacable animosity, destructive of the hope of a sincere reconciliation.

Of this animosity, a daring instance was exhibited in the unprovoked and barbarous mutilation of ten innocent subjects of the British government, by which seven of the number lost their lives; a measure of defiance calculated, and apparently intended, to put a final negative to every probability of friendly intercourse.

If, therefore, in the present reverse of his fortunes and condition, it may be presumed the king would be found more accessible to negotiation than in former times, what value could be set on a consent at variance with the known principles of his reign? or what dependence placed on his observance of conditions which he has hitherto so perseveringly repelled?

Still less could the hope for a moment be entertained, that any conditions of safety were capable of being established on behalf of the inhabitants, who had appealed to his Majesty's government for protection, and yet more hopeless the attempt to obtain pardon or safeguard for the chiefs, who had deemed it a duty paramount to every other obligation to become the medium of that appeal.

How far their complaints have been groundless, and their opposition licentious, or, on the contrary, their grievances bitterly and intolerably real, may now be judged by facts of unquestionable authenticity.

The wanton destruction of human life comprises or implies the existence of general oppression. In conjunction with that, no other proofs of the exercise of tyranny require to be specified; and one single instance, of no distant date, will be acknowledged to include every thing which is barbarous and unprincipled in public rule, and to portray the last stage of individual depravity and wickedness, the obliteration of every

trace of conscience, and the complete extinction of human feeling.

In the deplorable fate of the wife and children of Eheylapola Adikar, these assertions are fully substantiated: in which was exhibited the savage scene of four infant children, the youngest torn from the mother's breast, cruelly butchered, and their heads bruised in a mortar by the hands of their parent, succeeded by the execution of the woman herself and three females more, whose limbs being bound, and a heavy stone tied round the neck of each, they were thrown into a lake and drowned.

It is not, however, that under an absolute government unproved suspicion must usurp the place of fair trial, and the fiat of the ruler stand instead of the decision of justice; it is not that a rash, violent, or unjust decree, or a revolting mode of execution, is here brought to view, nor the innocent suffering under the groundless imputation of guilt; but a bold contempt of every principle of justice, setting at nought all known grounds of punishment, dispensing with the necessity of accusation, and choosing for its victims helpless females uncharged with any offence, and infants incapable of crime.

Contemplating these atrocities, the impossibility of establishing with such a man any civilized relations, either of peace or war, ceases to be a subject of regret; since his Majesty's arms, hitherto employed in the generous purpose of relieving the oppressed, would be tarnished and disgraced in being instrumental to the restoration of a dominion, exercised in a perpetual outrage to every thing which is sacred in the constitution or functions of a legitimate government.

No. IX.

CONVENTION.

Text, p. 164.

"At a Convention, held on the 2d day of March, in the year of Christ 1815, and the Singalese year 1736, at the Palace, in the City of Kandy, between his Excellency Lieutenant-General Robert Brownrigg, Governor and Commander-in-Chief in and over the British Settlements and Territories in the Island of Ceylon, acting in the name and on behalf of his Majesty George the Third, King, and his Royal Highness George Prince of Wales, Regent of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, on the one part, and the Adikars, Dissaves, and other principal chiefs of the Kandyan provinces, on behalf of the inhabitants, and in presence of the Mohottales, Coraals, Vidaans, and other subordinate head men from the several provinces, and of the people then and there assembled, on the other part, it is agreed and established as follows:—

"1st. That the cruelties and oppressions of the Malabar ruler, in the arbitrary and unjust infliction of bodily tortures, and the pains of death, without trial, and sometimes without an accusation or the possibility of a crime, and in the general contempt and contravention of all civil rights, have become flagrant, enormous, and intolerable; the acts and maxims of his government being equally and entirely devoid of that justice which should secure the safety of his subjects, and of that good faith which might obtain a beneficial intercourse with the neighbouring settlements.

"2d. That the Rajah Sri Wikreme Rajah Sinha, by the habitual violation of the chief and most sacred duties of a sovereign, has forfeited all claims to that title, or the powers annexed to the same, and is declared fallen and deposed from

the office of king; his family and relatives, whether in the ascending, descending, or collateral line, and whether by affinity or blood, are also for ever excluded from the throne; and all claim and title of the Malabar race to the dominion of the Kandyan provinces is abolished and extinguished.

"3d. That all male persons being, or pretending to be, relations of the late Rajah Sri Wikreme Rajah Sinha, either by affinity or blood, and whether in the ascending, descending, or collateral line, are hereby declared enemies to the government of the Kandyan provinces, and excluded and prohibited from entering those provinces, on any pretence whatever, without a written permission for that purpose, by the authority of the British government, under the pains and penalties of martial law, which is hereby declared to be in force for that purpose; and all male persons of the Malabar caste, now expelled from the said provinces, are, under the same penalties, prohibited from returning, except with the permission before mentioned.

"4th. The dominion of the Kandyan provinces is vested in the sovereign of the British empire, and to be exercised through the Governors or Lieutenant-Governors of Ceylon for the time being, and their accredited agents, saving to the Adikars, Dissaves, Mohottales, Coraals, Vidaans, and all other chief and subordinate native head men, lawfully appointed by authority of the British government, the rights, privileges, and powers of their respective offices, and to all classes of the people the safety of their persons and property, with their civil rights and immunities, according to the laws, institutions, and customs established and in force amongst them.

"5th. The religion of Boodhoo, professed by the chiefs and inhabitants of these provinces, is declared inviolable; and its rights, ministers, and places of worship, are to be maintained and protected.

"6th. Every species of bodily torture, and all mutilation of limb, member, or organ, are prohibited and abolished.

"7th. No sentence of death can be carried into execution against any inhabitant, except by the written warrant of the

British Governor or Lieutenant-Governor for the time being, founded on a report of the case made to him through the accredited agent or agents of the government resident in the interior, in whose presence all trials for capital offences are to take place.

"8th. Subject to these conditions, the administration of civil and criminal justice and police, over the Kandyan inhabitants of the said provinces, is to be exercised according to established forms, and by the ordinary authorities; saving always the inherent right of government to redress grievances and reform abuses, in all instances whatever, particular or general, where such interposition shall become necessary.

"9th. Over all other persons, civil or military, residing in or resorting to these provinces, not being Kandyans, civil and criminal justice, together with police, shall, until the pleasure of his Majesty's government in England may be otherwise declared, be administered in the manner following:—

"First, All persons, not being commissioned or non-commissioned military officers, soldiers, or followers of the army, usually held liable to military discipline, shall be subject to the magistracy of the accredited agent or agents of the British government, in all cases except charges of murder, which shall be tried by special commissions, to be issued from time to time by the governor for that purpose. Provided always, as to such charges of murder wherein any British subject may be defendant, who might be tried for the same by the laws of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, in force for the trial of offences committed by British subjects in foreign parts, no such British subject shall be tried on any charge of murder, alleged to have been perpetrated in the Kandyan provinces, otherwise than by virtue of such laws of the United Kingdom.

"Second, Commissioned or non-commissioned military officers, soldiers, or followers of the army, usually held amenable to military discipline, shall, in all civil and criminal cases, wherein they may be defendants, be liable to the laws, regulations, and customs of war, reserving to the governor and commander-

in-chief, in all cases falling under this ninth article, an unlimited right of review over every proceeding, civil or military, had by virtue thereof, and reserving also full power to make such particular provisions, conformably to the general spirit of the said article, as may be found necessary to carry its principle into full effect.

"10th. Provided always, that the operation of the several preceding clauses shall not be contravened by the provisions of any temporary or partial proclamation published during the advance of the army; which provisions, in so far as incompatible with the said preceding articles, are hereby repealed.

"11th. The royal dues and revenues of the Kandyan provinces are to be managed and collected for his Majesty's use, and the support of the provincial establishment, according to lawful custom, and under the direction and superintendence of the accredited agent or agents of the British government.

"12th. His Excellency the Governor will adopt provisionally, and recommend to the confirmation of his Royal Highness the Prince Regent, in the name and on behalf of his Majesty, such dispositions in favour of the trade of these provinces, as may facilitate the export of their products, and improve the returns, whether in money, or in salt, cloths, or other commodities, useful and desirable to the inhabitants of the Kandyan country.

"God save the King!

"By his Excellency's command,

"James Sutherland,

"*Dep. Secretary.*"

No. X.

KAPPITAPOLA AND MADUGALLA.

Text, p. 199.

Monarawila, or, as he was commonly called, Kappitapola, was made dissave of the province of Uwa, when the English took possession of the Kandyan provinces in 1815, and continued to fill that office until he joined the insurgents in 1817. He was allied to some of the most wealthy and influential families in the Kandyan country, being the son of a sister of Eheylapola, with whom he used to reside when he came to Kandy. While he was Eheylapola's guest, the writer occasionally attended him professionally.* Kappitapola's manners were much more frank and affable, in the company of Europeans, than those of any of the other Kandyan chiefs. He conducted himself in company with a remarkable degree of decorum and propriety.

Although Kappitapola was not esteemed a man of much talent, he was generally considered by the English as the recognised leader of the insurrection. His acceptance of the appointment of first adikar to the pretender, renders it probable that he considered himself as prime mover in the resistance which was made to the British authority.

He was brought before a court-martial on the 13th November 1818, and tried for levying war, with the view of subverting his Majesty's government, lawfully established, and was condemned to death. At his request, the writer visited him several times in gaol, after he had been convicted, and

* Kappitapola was the only chief of consequence who submitted early to vaccination himself, and had all his children vaccinated; thereby showing an unusual degree of confidence in the English.

was aware that he had been sentenced to suffer death. He usually conducted himself with much self-possession. On one occasion, he spread out the cloth which was round his loins, and which was coarse and not clean, and, smiling, said, "You know this is not the way I used to dress." He was not unwilling to converse on the subject of the insurrection; and, although he sometimes admitted that he was concerned in many of the hostile attacks made upon our troops, he wished to explain away, or to weaken at least, the force of any inference which tended to his inculpation. In two respects he admitted that he was culpable: first, in having accepted the appointment of adikar from the "false king," or pretender; and, secondly, for not submitting to government when a proclamation was issued offering pardon to insurgents who should deliver up their arms before the 20th September. He repeatedly and earnestly expressed a desire that the sentence of death might be commuted to banishment; and entreated the writer to request Mr Sawers to use his influence with Sir Robert Brownrigg, for the purpose of obtaining a commutation of his sentence. He remarked, that although life was full of trouble, existence was still desirable. In the course of conversation, he frequently observed, that he was an unfortunate man; and was unwilling to admit that his unhappy condition was an obvious consequence of the policy he had adopted, and the ill success which attended it. Being a zealous Boodhist, he considered his present misfortune was the result of delinquencies committed during a former state of existence,—a belief which repudiates responsibility for offences committed in this life.

Early on the morning of the 25th November, Kappitapola and Madugalla were, in compliance with their own request, taken to the Dalada Malegawa, or temple of the sacred relic. At the request of Kappitapola, and by permission of his Excellency Sir Robert Brownrigg, Mr Sawers met him at the temple. Kneeling before the priest, upon the threshold of the sanctuary, the repository of the sacred relic, the chief detailed the principal meritorious actions of his life,—such as the

benefits he had conferred on priests, together with the gifts he had bestowed on temples, and other acts of piety. He then pronounced the Proptannawah, or last wish; namely, that, at his next birth, he might be born on the mountains of Himmalaya, and finally obtain Neerwannah, a state of partial annihilation. Having concluded his devotions, he was addressed by the priest, who, in an impressive tone and manner, acknowledged that his merits were great, and concluded his address by pronouncing a benediction, the last words of which were as follows:—"As sure as a stone thrown up into the air returns to the earth, so certain will you, in consideration of your religious merits, be present at the next incarnation of Boodhoo, and receive your reward." The scene between the chief and the priest was most solemn and impressive. The chief, who had continued kneeling, rose, and turning round to Mr Sawers, addressed him in the following words:—"I give you a share of the merit of my last religious offering;"—and, forthwith unwinding his upper cloth from his waist, he presented it to the temple, jocularly observing, that although it was both foul and ragged, "the merit of the offering would not on those accounts be diminished, it being all he had to give." He then requested Mr Sawers to accompany him to the place of execution, which was kindly and respectfully declined.

Madugalla's devotions were conducted in a similar manner; but although he had evinced great bravery in the field, he lost self-possession on this occasion. When the priest had given him his benediction, he sprang forward, and rushed into the sanctuary, where he loudly craved mercy for the sake of the relic. He was instantly dragged from behind the dagobah by Lieutenant Mackenzie, the fort adjutant, with the assistance of some of the guard. Kappitapola, who conducted himself with great firmness and self-possession, and who was greatly surprised at the pusillanimity of his fellow-prisoner, in the most dispassionate manner observed, that Madugalla acted like a fool. He then, in a firm and collected manner, shook hands with Mr Sawers, and bade him farewell.

The prisoners were then taken to the place of execution,

which was near to the Bogambarawa tank, about a mile distant from the temple. Here they requested to be provided with water for the purpose of ablution, which was brought to them. Kappitapola then begged to be allowed a short time to perform the ceremonies of his religion. This request being granted, both the prisoners washed their hands and face. Kappitapola then tied up his hair in a knot on the top of his head, and sat down on the ground, beside a small bush, grasping it at the same time with his toes. From the folds of the cloth which encircled his loins, he took a small *Banna potta*, (prayer-book,) and, after reciting some prayers or verses, he gave the book to a native official who was present, requesting him to deliver it to Mr Sawers as a token of the gratitude he felt for his friendship and kindness, while they were officially connected at Badulla,—Mr Sawers as agent of government, and Kappitapola as dissave of Uwa.

The chief continued to repeat some Pali verses; and, while he was so employed, the executioner struck him on the back of the neck with a sharp sword. At that moment he breathed out the word *Arahaan*, one of the names of Boodhoo. A second stroke deprived him of life, and he fell to the ground a corpse. His head being separated from his body, it was, according to Kandyan custom, placed on his breast.

Madugalla continued to evince great want of firmness; and being unable to tie up his hair, that operation was performed by the Hearigha Kangaan, the chief public executioner. The perturbed state of his mind was evinced by the convulsive action of the muscles of his face. He earnestly begged to be dispatched by means of one blow, and then finally pronounced the word *Arahaan*. In consequence of his not having sufficient resolution to bend his head forwards, it was held by one of the executioners. After the first blow of the sword he fell backwards; but he was not deprived of life until he received a second stroke.

Kappitapola's cranium was presented by the writer to the museum of the Phrenological Society of Edinburgh.

In some respects, the fate of Kappitapola resembled that

of Sir William Wallace, the beloved champion of Scotland,—an outline of whose exertions and sufferings for the independence of his country may be here stated. Towards the end of the 13th century, Edward I., King of England, obtained possession of nearly all the places of strength in Scotland, and assumed to himself the dominion of the kingdom, as a right which belonged to him. A general hatred of the English yoke was soon manifested by the people, who were willing enough to exchange a disgraceful submission for an honourable though desperate warfare. The Scots, adopting the Kandyan mode of warfare, assembled in troops and companies, and betook themselves to the woods, mountains, and morasses, prepared for a general insurrection against the English power. Sir William Wallace, who for a long time carried on a guerilla war with the English, became the recognised leader of the insurrection, and made a noble resistance to the whole force which Edward employed in Scotland. His wife fell into the hands of his enemies, and was barbarously executed by order of the English Sheriff of Lanark. Wallace was at last betrayed by some of his countrymen, and delivered up to the English. He was forthwith conveyed to London, where he was tried at Westminster. The arraignment charged him with high treason, in respect that he had stormed and taken towns and castles, and shed much blood. "Traitor," said Wallace, "was I never!" The rest of the charges he confessed. He was found guilty and condemned to death. After being dragged to the usual place of execution, at the tails of horses, he was there hanged on a high gallows, on the 23d of August 1305; after which, his bowels having been taken out while he yet breathed, and burned before his face, his head was struck off, and his body hacked into quarters. His right arm was set up at Newcastle,—his left at Berwick.

NOTES AND ADDITIONS.

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Note I., p. 6.

The plough is sometimes drawn by oxen, but, in some parts of the island, the cultivation of rice-fields is chiefly effected by first turning over the soil with a *mammooty*, then flooding the ground with water, and, subsequently, yoking three or four pairs of buffaloes, and driving them over a field until the soil is reduced to plashy mud. This being accomplished, the surface of the soil is rendered smooth by means of a board set in a frame, which is drawn over the field. The seed, which is invariably in a state of germination by previous aspersion with water, is then sown.

Note II., p. 34.

Power of the King.—" A king called to the throne by the voice of the people, always has been, always will be, elected for the express purpose of inquiring minutely into what is lawful and what is unlawful; of causing what is unlawful to be set aside, and what is lawful to be carried into effect; ot acquitting the innocent, and of inflicting on the guilty punishments proportioned to their crimes."—(*Answer respecting the Laws and Customs of the Kandyan Country*, *Bertolacci*, p. 451.) In practice, it was clearly understood that the king should be guided by the ancient laws and usages of the kingdom; and he was held to be a good or a bad king, in proportion as he conformed to the said laws and customs, but there was no power which was calculated to control him. Like other half-

civilised communities, the Kandyans were much more concerned in the administration of their long-established customs than in the framing of laws. Conspiracies, in Kandy, have always been solely directed against the life of the reigning sovereign, and never against existing institutions.

Note III., p. 37.

The taxes or duties were all fixed and determined on the lands, having reference to the caste of the persons holding said lands. The people were very tenacious of their rights in regard to the amount of taxation. Under the most despotic and arbitrary of the kings they would not submit quietly to an increase of either taxes or personal service.

Note IV., p. 38.

For settling petty differences, recourse was often had to the *Gam Saby*—a court composed of the elders of a village, which decided causes without expense. The deposed king greatly approved of these courts, but they were discouraged by the chiefs, whose emoluments were reduced by them. When a cause was brought before a chief's court, both plaintiff and defendant were obliged to give him a ***boolat sooroloo;*** in other words, to fee or bribe the judge.

"Before the nature of property is defined by positive statutes, or any rules prescribed concerning the mode of acquiring or conveying it, there is gradually formed, in every state, a body of customary or common law, by which judicial proceedings are directed, and every decision conformable to it is submitted to with reverence, as the result of the accumulated wisdom and experience of ages."—(*Disquisition concerning India, by Dr Robertson.*)

NOTE V., p. 212.

To banish alleged or suspected traitors was obviously an arbitrary and illegal measure. The late Lord Durham, when he was Governor of Canada, made an ordinance, enacting that it should be lawful to transport certain persons from the province; and then, in pursuance of that law, issued a proclamation, ordering their transportation. The Home Government denied the validity of the ordinance, and released the persons affected by it.

THE END.

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